

**The class border: capital, crises and  
migration**

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## **Abstract**

Between 2007 and 2016, there were 1,980,761 (DWP 2018) applications for UK National Insurance numbers from Eastern European 'Accession Eight' (A8) country nationals. The experiences of these diverse workers has been the subject of a range of ongoing academic research. This thesis contributes to that body of work by examining the case of Latvian workers in the UK and makes a distinctive contribution using a Bourdieusian approach to the study of the 'why and how' people move between different social fields, to leave familiar places and ways of life to re-establish themselves elsewhere. This builds on the work of others (Savage 2015, Friedman and Laurison 2020) who consider habitus and capital in terms of social mobility and class.

Through analysis of in-depth interviews with 22 Latvians living and working in West Yorkshire, I analyse the interrelationship between habitus, cultural, social, and economic capital and field. In doing so, I build on, but also critique, existing studies of migration that utilise a Bourdieusian conceptual framework and advance an account that pays critical attention to the interrelationships between different forms of capital. Further, I argue that digital savoir faire provides significant cultural capital that must be considered along with other capital, as this creates a 'digitally enhanced migration' journey. In this thesis, I also address the enduring significance of 'historical legacy' as demonstrably important given Latvian migrants' lived experience of Soviet colonialism and totalitarianism, which Bourdieu (1998) himself documented when discussing Soviet fields and lack of cultural, social and economic capital accumulation.

The thesis concludes that application of a flexible Bourdieusian theory of practice to migratory movements between spatial fields, and a consideration of temporal movements of people from one political economic field to another provides a lens on how habitus is pivotal to mobility ability.

### **Author's Declaration Page**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author.

This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other,

University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Over 50% of Europeans cite freedom of movement as the EU's greatest achievement. (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2018)

Although some people have a strong affinity with the notion of being a member of a wider community, others strongly resist this idea. (Clarke *et al.* 2017:147)

Dispositions are adjusted in accordance with one's position, and expectations in accordance with opportunities. (Bourdieu 1990:10)

In 2005, I moved under the Freedom of Movement Provision (TFEU) to rural France, keen to improve my French, work and become enculturated into French life. However, in all three I had limited success: my French improved, but not to the extent I wanted, and the sole work

opportunity I could find was teaching English part time. Further, I was only partially able to become absorbed into 'French life' as many of my friends were English expatriates or middle-class French and Belgian in-migrants to the area who had a good command of English. However, the years I spent in France inspired my imagination, raising questions about my sense of identity, the ease with which I moved with my family to France, settled into a home and found even limited work. How I managed, unlike many of my contemporaries in the local expatriate community, to establish friendships with middle-class French and Belgian anglophones. I began to see my situation in terms of what Pierre Bourdieu calls capital: I had a university education, a middle-class profession and qualifications, money to buy a home, and as my school-aged daughter built friendships, my social network and social capital grew. Part of my questioning about what I had achieved rested, however, on my own working-class upbringing. I did not take the ease with which I settled for granted and knew that what I had managed was beyond the reach of some of those with whom I had lived on a Cornish council estate, and especially those with whom I attended the local Secondary Modern School. This drew me to reflect on my reasons for moving to France.

My passion for French culture, food, and language were not random, but part of my 'historical legacy', gained from my parents. My own habitus is informed in legacy terms from my father's time as a young soldier posted to Europe; that experience had engendered in him the knowledge that the then English upper and middle-class preference for French wine, French cheese, language and even, on special occasions, Michelin star restaurants, were part of the fabric of life for many working-class French. This knowledge allowed me to understand that I could have that life if I moved to France. Furthermore, my father's

experiences as an army corporal dealing with the English 'officer class', encouraged him to acknowledge his own intelligence and aptitudes comparatively to theirs'. This gave him confidence and cultural capital. This was my legacy, the firm conviction that the upper and middle-classes were no better or worse than me, an awareness of other lifestyles, and that I too could achieve aspects of a broader, prized culture. I did this through education (I was the first in my family to go to university) and through a move to France, where decent housing was far cheaper, and the expensive 'middle and upper-class' foods and other cultural goods were far more easily accessible. Furthermore, by the time I moved to France, I had, as noted above, acquired university degrees and professional qualifications, which widened my cultural capital, developing in me the confidence to emigrate and a disposition that developed interests in other cultures.

When I moved to France, my undergraduate and postgraduate sociological understanding inspired me to reflect in terms of habitus, as opposed to historical legacy. The latter term is grounded in both my sociological imagination and in the empirical data I discuss throughout this thesis. This reflection on how my thesis is grounded in empirical data provides the opportunity here to question the accepted PhD norm to write the introduction as though it was formulated prior to the research, as if it is not retrospective, but it is always retrospective. This norm is an artifice and it is problematic for any researcher using a flexible methodology where the form of the PhD is responsive to the empirical data. Hence, as my thesis is based in a Bourdieusian theory of practice and as such I created a research framework using both my sociological imagination and extended reading before the empirical data was collected. The empirical data informed the entire thesis and changed the direction of questioning. It did not change the entire aim of the thesis.

Therefore, an introduction that is written as though it and the study has not been reflexive to the empirical data, does not reflect a study that has adapted to the data. I would argue that sociology at its best is a combination of sociological imagination (C.Wright Mills 1959) from which a theoretical framework is devised (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and that is grounded in, and therefore responsive to, empirical evidence:

As Bourdieu (1986:39) states:

To see, to record, to photograph: I have never accepted the separation between the theoretical construction of an object or research and the set of practical procedures without which there can be no real knowledge.

I discuss this quote in more detail in Chapter 5.1 and use it again there as it is pivotal to the approach of this thesis. For now, it underlies why it feels incongruous for me to write as though I have fixed questions when all my thesis is responsive to the data, including the formation of questions that changed. Even my sociological imagination has developed as has my interpretation of Bourdieusian theory.

However, as is standard, this introduction continues, (with some further reflection on the changes that were made to the questions) in line with expectations and in the future tense. My aim for this thesis is to begin to understand the process of emigration, specifically how habitus informs choices to emigrate and how emigration is achieved. This aim draws on my own lived experiences of being a migrant. I will use a case study approach to focus on the experiences of a group of Latvian workers emigrating from a post-Soviet economy to the UK and with their destination being West Yorkshire.

I aim to explore Latvian migration to West Yorkshire from 2007, which is a significant date as emigration from Latvia increased notably from then up to 2015 when it began to fall (Hazans 2019). I am not researching to find external determinants for migration, or to look for patterns, but to understand why some people's habitus leads them to emigrate, a choice which appears reasonable to them in certain circumstances. Latvia did experience greater emigration than other EU countries (Hazans 2019) between 2007 - 2015, and therefore the form and nature of the Latvian political economic field and how it influences habitus and peoples' emigration choice is of interest.

However, as Bourdieu states, 'The immediate fit between habitus and field is only one modality of action, if the most prevalent one' (1992:131). Bourdieu explains that in times of crises, where the 'routine adjustment of subjective and objective structures is brutally disruptive' (1992:131) the potential for making a strategic choice as opposed to a reasonable one based on habitus, is greater. However, there is a caveat from Bourdieu, that this potential for rational choice only exists for those 'in a position to be rational.' (1992:131), and such a luxury would denote an 'intellectual mastery of oneself' (1992:132), if such a mastery of consciousness existed then it would be antithesis of habitus. Habitus is discussed in greater detail in section 2.2 below.

I aim to achieve a case study cohort comprising a maximum of twenty-two Latvian participants who have Latvian or Russian as a first language. Given my focus on workers it is important that my case study provides a lens on that group. The concept of habitus is therefore central to my work, especially as operationalised by Savage (2015) who, as discussed in Chapter 5, embeds his theoretical consideration of class within a Bourdieusian theory of practice.

Thus, my approach will be to use Savage's (2015) and Friedman and Savage's (2018) development of Bourdieu's capital paradigm to operationalise the concept of habitus vis-à-vis my Latvian participants, in the contemporary British context. I aim to extend this to focus on my participants' reasonable choice and use of capital to move between different social fields across national borders, with the understanding that migration could have parallels with class mobility. In this way, Bourdieu's capital paradigm, understanding of habitus and field will be used to understand social change in terms of people's transnational movement. Therefore, the logical problem of why and how people move in terms of social class mobility and the theoretical response of contemporary academics in that field, (Savage 2015, Friedman and Savage 2018, Friedman and Laurison 2020) invites the possibility of applying an approach using Bourdieusian theoretical and pragmatic methodological approaches, to understand why and how people move in terms of physical migration.

Therefore, my intention is to demonstrate how Bourdieusian theory can be used to understand the movement of people between fields. I aim to explain my participants' emigration choice and how their capital, their habitus, led them to make this 'reasonable choice' (Bourdieu 1990:9). Therefore, understanding the reasonable choices people make for mobility in terms of movement between any fields, not just in terms of class mobility but also actual physical movement between fields is explored. As Boese *et al.* suggest, this is an area that could benefit from contributions, as they state, the: 'social-spatial mobility nexus is underexplored for its potential in bringing insights to *social mobility*.' (2022:354). My thesis will provide a qualitative case study and an understanding of habitus, capital and 'social-spatial mobility' between two fields, Latvia and West Yorkshire, that have been historically different in terms of their socioeconomics and politics. Hence, in this thesis the

aim is not to solely understand migration choices, but to place these choices within the changing dynamics of fields and habitus.

Friedman and Savage (2018) explain how Bourdieu understands social mobility as occurring within a historically dynamic field:

it is not enough to assess whether more or less working-class children are becoming (for instance) doctors: we also need to understand that the occupation of being a doctor is changing, and as it evolves that there may be increasing hierarchies within its professional structure. (ibid., 2018:71)

My reasoning is to build on this idea, and to explore the argument that it is not enough to understand that more Latvians chose to emigrate to the UK, (as is illustrated in Chapter 4, emigration to the UK is most notable before Brexit), but that it is also necessary to consider a structure of increasing hierarchies within the field of migrants in the UK. Field movement is never static; the reasons for emigration change, as do the fields to and from which migration occurs. For instance, Godin and Sigona (2022) provide an insight into how the UK post-Brexit field presents citizenship issues for EU migration to the UK and for those who are already resident. Emigration from EU states had been a right for EU workers prior to Brexit, but those immigrants who chose to move and work in the UK under the Freedom of Movement Provision now face increased barriers. Godina and Sigona describe how 'the root to British citizenship is scattered with conditions which produce and reproduce societal hierarchies of deservingness' (2021:1136). Therefore, there is a reflection in this thesis on hierarchies of migrant deservedness, and how classification and reclassification of 'citizen' has affected the research participants. This consideration will be set within an envelope of reasoning that considers participants' habitus, which is to say their accumulative and

changing capitals, and the dynamic influence of the fields they inhabited before and after their migration.

As described above in this introduction, I aim to forward a distinct approach which uses reflexivity as its theory of practice. This method supports Bourdieusian (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) approaches to gathering and reflecting on empirical data and, therefore, its use should add to the literature in this area. Accordingly, the research will be reflexively driven by the empirical data acquired in the first few interviews and through the initial review of the literature. This research seeks to develop the contribution of researchers (Erel 2010, 2015; Reynolds 2015, Ryan 2015) who have applied Bourdieu's theoretical framework in contrasting ways to my approach in their analysis of migration. Where their focus has been on providing an analysis of one or two aspects of capital, such as cultural capital (Erel 2010) or social and cultural capital (Erel 2015, Reynolds 2015), my contribution will consider all forms of capital generally associated with habitus formation, change and development; for instance, social, cultural and economic (Bourdieu 1986). I establish the influence of habitus and further, a concept which has been developed through reflection on Bourdieu's (1998) analysis of Soviet Systems and through applying the principle of grounded theory and reflecting on the empirical data which I have collected but discuss collecting here, the concept, as discussed above in this introduction, is: 'historical legacy'.

I have therefore become concerned with the importance of 'historical legacy', and this is demonstrable where peoples' home field, region or country has undergone a shift in political, social and economic structure over time and how this influences emigration. Such shifts in the socioeconomic and political field would often be gradual and the resulting field changes represent themselves in peoples' habitus; however, where there has been a



massive change in people's ability to acquire capital, for instance in a field change from a totalitarian or authoritarian colonised state to one where social, cultural and economic capital can occur, it is interesting to consider how people without a history of accumulated capital, whose grandparents, parents and they themselves have had no capital as children and young adults, move and adapt to a new field. This reflection on 'no capital' is explored in Chapter 2, and initially appears problematic, nonsensical, however, through an analysis of Bourdieu's (1998) reflection on the Soviet occupation of East Germany (German Democratic People's Republic, GDR) it can be established as Bourdieu (1998) highlights, political capital is the only form of capital available in an authoritarian state. This argument is further supported in a consideration of Arendt's (2017) treatise on totalitarianism; the social conditions arising from such a state, relevant here as this is the field legacy of Latvia, and experienced in the USSR and occupied territories, there is total control of the person and field, both physical and mental occupation.

The use of grounded theory and reflection on data led to the questions below being adapted, especially as it became apparent that the participants' capital, habitus and migration journey were significantly influenced by digital technology.

Hence, an aim in this thesis is to understand the impact of temporal and spatial influences on habitus and capital and consequential effects upon emigration and the process through which Latvians become rooted in West Yorkshire. Given this, the research questions that my work initially sought to address are the following:

1. What were the motivations for the participants' movement to the UK?
2. How did the participants' capital enable their ability to move to the UK?
3. How does capital enable participants' ability to settle successfully?

4. What part does the participants' capital play in their decisions to stay in West Yorkshire or to return to Latvia?

Reflection on the empirical data led to the development of these questions:

- What do the participants perceive to be their motivations for emigration to the UK? How are habitus, history and class significant to the choice to emigrate?
- Did the participants' emergent cultural capital enable their ability to move and settle in the UK? What role did crises play vis-à-vis the participants' capital and the ease with which they could move from one geographic field to another?
- How does capital enable participants' ability to settle successfully? Reacting to the empirical data, more specifically, how has the participants' migration journey and ability to settle in the UK been enhanced using digital technology?
- How has crises at a macro field level influenced the participants' thoughts on remaining in the UK or returning to Latvia.

In Chapter 2, my thesis continues with a review of the literature where the Bourdieusian theoretical paradigm has been applied to migration research. Further, I focus on Bourdieu's capital paradigm and his theories of field and habitus and how his approach can be used reflexively to understand social changes. As Wacquant and Bourdieu state (1992) it is important to be reflexive and modify research to adapt for any problems. This approach will be applied to the literature review by identifying any issues or gaps in existing literature. There will be a consideration of the Latvian specific field and how a Soviet legacy has influenced it (Arendt 2017, Bourdieu 1998).

Chapter 4 covers the methodology, and there will be an analysis of the case study approach and why it is relevant to this thesis and to Bourdieusian theory of practice. As discussed

above, the proposed approach using Bourdieu's theory of practice means that the method is driven by the findings and I will be reflexive to these, however, the research will be confined to a theoretical reflection and application that moves the research beyond any 'common sense' interpretation. This will add a depth of rigour to a flexible research approach. There will be an appraisal of the mixed method approach that I endeavour to use. The research participants, the sampling process, arguments for the case study approach, reasons behind the choice of case study and the theoretical underpinning of this research will be explored.

Chapters 5 to 8 are concerned with the findings. Chapter 5 focuses on the reasons that the participants gave for their emigration to the UK. There is the consideration of crises and how these affected the participants depending on their habitus. The Latvian specific field is explored in this chapter, especially in terms of the 'great recession' (Hazans 2019:64) that created the social conditions that the participants describe as being influential to their emigration. Participants' habitus is reflected on and this is placed within developments in the social, political economy fields which have changed considerably within the participants' lifetimes.

Chapter 5 explores how social, economic and cultural capital connect to potentially ease emigration. The participants' use of social networks to move, and how these networks were initially important in providing social capital is considered. Further, there is a comparison between the use of informal and formal networks, with critical analysis of the degree of use of both. The use of cultural capital which makes it easier to move is explored, such as proficiency in the English language.

Chapter 7 evaluates the participants' use of digital technology and virtual spaces to maintain connections with family and friends, thus aiding social capital and supporting rooting into

the UK field. Migrant digital capital is considered as a form of cultural capital. In this chapter, there is an appraisal of digitally enhanced migration as a concept.

Chapter 8 provides a reflection on the participants' thoughts on returning to Latvia. The empirical data is examined vis-à-vis potential macro crises factors, particularly the global COVID-19 pandemic and Britain's exit from the EU. There is a reflection on any changes in capital that could support a return.

In chapter 9, the concluding chapter, the idea that Bourdieusian concepts, theory and reflexive, pragmatic research approach can be used to understand migration from one field to another, is reconsidered vis-à-vis the analysis of the empirical data that has occurred in this thesis. Therefore, the recommendations forwarded in Chapter 9 rest on the empirical data, for instance, the relevance of technology to the participants is considered in this thesis and is offered as a form of cultural capital: digitally enhanced migration, that could be tested further. The concept of historical legacy needs to be taken further and tested. It has a potential relevance in understanding how communities that have undergone massive field change, moving from a situation of no or limited capital accumulation, can still have a comparable lack of accumulated capital that affects habitus. For instance, how a lack of past capital because of colonialism could affect communities today.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

In this chapter I review perspectives on migration in order to situate my own work. In Section 2.1 there is a review of the development of the main approaches to understanding migration. This builds and leads to Section 2.2 where there is a consideration of the relevant approaches in sociology to understanding migration and an explanation of the 'added value' of perspectives derived from Bourdieu.

In Section 2.3 there is a consideration of the importance of capital to the theoretical underpinning of my research. In terms of the current field dynamics of the EU and international migration, I argue that any one capital cannot be a stand-alone concept, for instance thinking solely in terms of the effects of economic capital, or human capital, but that forms of capital are interlaced, supporting each other as a whole. Three strands of capital are analysed as resulting in accumulated habitus.

In Section 2.4 the literature that uses habitus as it is operationalised in my thesis is described and analysed. Consequently, there is a reflection on field and its connection to habitus. The use of habitus is critically examined, as is the literature in this area, and operationalised in the Latvian migration context. Therefore, the relativity of participant habitus is considered in terms of emigration as the difference between rational and reasonable choices.

Next, to understand the effect of contemporary fields on habitus, I have provided an analysis of digital influences, use, and accessibility. The grounded nature of my thesis

resulted in this necessity to explore a concept of digitally enhanced migration and literature surrounding this idea. Further exigencies arose from using a grounded approach and the data led me to explore literature on crises, the use of technology and Bourdieusian approaches in migration literature.

## **2.1 The main approaches to understanding migration.**

This section explores and analyses sociological perspectives within the field of migration studies. This leads to Section 2, where there is an explanation of the 'added value' of perspectives derived from Bourdieu and where my thesis sits with respect to the field.

In Section 2.1.1, there is a consideration of the two main Functionalist approaches to understanding migration, which are the push-pull model (Passaris 1989) and Rostow's (1960) stages of growth theory. Both understand migration as reactive to events at a structural level, for example, economic crises. In Section 2.1.2, I examine Marxist Historical-Structural theories of migration. These approaches, like Functionalist approaches, are deterministic in nature, and this aspect of their approach is explored below. However, they are critical, and this is helpful in establishing the potential downside of migration, particularly for those migrating. In Section 2.1.3, I consider Migration Transition theories and how these have developed from Zelinsky (1971) to Skeldon (2012). Migration Transition theories rely on statistics to understand people movements and their theoretical underpinning employs Rostow's 'Stages of Growth' theory. In Section 2.1.4, I explore Migration Systems Theories, for instance, Migration Networks Theory and the New Economics of Migration. These approaches understand migration as circular, as a temporary

measure to provide an alternative income stream to families in rural communities. New Economies of Migration are based at the family level and do reflect upon structural effects to a degree. Migration Systems approaches begin to consider how individuals and their experiences can intersect with events at a structural level to influence migration. In Section 2.1.5, I discuss Goss and Lindquist's (1995) application of Giddens' (1990) Structuration theory to further the argument of the necessity to consider how structural events and personal circumstances can combine to influence migration.

### **2.1.1 Functionalist approaches to understanding migration.**

There are two main Functionalist approaches to understanding migration theory, the push-pull model (Passaris 1989) and the neoclassical migration theory, based on Rostow's (1960) stages of growth theory. These models recognise structural level causes for migration, for instance, economic, political, demographic and environmental causes. Examples of 'push' factors that promote emigration are recession, civil unrest, drought and overpopulation. 'Pull' causes for migration include accessibility of work, freedom of political expression, and availability of resources such as food and accommodation. This approach includes the 'gravity model' (Greenwood 1970; Ramos and Surinach 2016), which de Haas states geographers use to 'predict the volume of migration' (de Haas *et al.*, 2020:45) and has been inspired by Newton's law of gravity. However, push-pull approaches do not consider how people might migrate for different reasons, or how structural factors can affect people differently depending on their statuses and how these interact. For instance, it fails to consider the roles that people's gender, age or class can play in their decisions to migrate. It, therefore, does not address the issue of why some people migrate but others do not, even

given comparable changes at structural levels. Factors such as increased economic activity and urbanisation can attract some people to an area, but others might leave for the same reason.

Quoting Lee (1966), de Haas *et al.* state that:

As Lee (1966) argued, there are many factors that retain people in origin areas. Push-pull models also tend to fall into dichotomous, stereotypical world views. (de Haas *et al.* 2020:45)

Such a dichotomous world-view exists where countries in the global South are understood as countries of emigration and countries in the global North as countries of immigration (de Haas *et al.*). This is also the case between Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Further, there is evidence that Eastern European migrants are problematised and stereotyped in this model (Doyle 2011). Push-pull models ignore what Vertovec (2007, 2022) describes as the reality of the superdiversity of places after migration and the diversity of reasons for migration.

Push-pull approaches are deterministic models that seek causation for migration from events associated with structures in society. They, therefore, ignore non-structural factors, such as migration based on adventure, learning, language or sunshine.

Importantly, as de Haas *et al.* illustrate, migration occurs more often from countries where a level of prosperity is attained, where those migrating have the resources to cover the costs and cope with the risks linked to migration. The dichotomous view that migration occurs from poverty-stricken countries to rich ones does not reflect this finding.



The second functionalist approach to be considered here is neoclassical theory. This approach is based on Rostow's (1960) modernisation theory and argues that social forces move through stages of growth towards equilibrium. For instance, all countries will industrialise in a comparable way. For industrialisation to take place, certain prerequisites will need to be in place, such as a supply of labour. Labour will move from densely populated areas where there is limited work to areas where there is abundant work. This approach argues that there is a migration trend from rural to urban areas, and from low waged to high waged regions. Neoclassical theory, whilst arguing that social forces create migration, also, paradoxically, often rests on the idea of migrant rational choice (Borjas 1987;1989). Borjas (1987) describes migrants as existing with a form of migrant marketplace, where they can make choices on their emigration destination based on employment-based criteria, such as wages. Borjas (1987;1989), therefore, posits that both wages and conditions in a migrant's origin area and the region to which they consider migrating create migration choices. This builds on Hicks' (1939) argument that migration is based on wage expectation. Hicks argues that movement between work types, regions, areas or countries is driven by wages.

Borjas (1989) argues that both the place of emigration, and area of immigration, will benefit, because there is a tendency towards equilibrium. Therefore, capital is attracted to the sending country. This idea is based on Rostow's (1960) notion of stages of growth towards modernisation.

Marxist approaches criticise Functionalist approaches because they do not consider the historic relationship between sending and receiving countries. For instance, Marxist Historical-Structural approaches argue that, although development is based on migration and this is essential for development in the receiving country, there is no tendency towards equilibrium, and migration is exploitative, not beneficial for those migrating (Spybey, 1997). Thus, neoclassical approaches view migration to support capitalism as a positive leading to equilibrium, whilst Marxists reflect upon the circumstances of control and dependency: 'Capitalism from its very beginnings has always been dependent upon migrant labour.' (Spybey, 1997:151).

Spybey focuses on class and imperialist history in his use of modernisation theory and considers capitalism as dependent upon migration, producing underdevelopment and disequilibrium in the country from which emigration occurs. Goss and Lindquist (1995) criticise the Functionalist approach, arguing that an assumption based on the 'aggregate effect of individual decisions' (1995:318) does not necessarily lead to an equilibrium in a country from which emigration occurs or in one that experiences immigration.

Functionalists can be additionally criticised because they do not account for differential spatial development and its link to time. As Kiely (2006) argues, typologies based on stages of growth are not an explanation for development, as places will develop differently over time. The assumption that progress is concurrent and that demand for labour in one country will equal a surplus elsewhere does not account for changes in the global conditions over time that countries face when developing. This point is illustrated by Skeldon (2011), who

argues that the Functionalist approach based on Rostow's (1960) stages of growth theory: 'assumed that all countries or areas passed through the same rigid sequence of change and did not consider the heterogeneity of economies classified as 'traditional'.' (Skeldon, 2011:154)

Skeldon (2011:154) argues that stages of growth are not possible, as: 'No single model of development existed; and no single transition existed'. Therefore, global development has not followed a structured pattern. For instance, countries industrialising now will not follow the same stages of growth (Rostow, 1960) as those that industrialised in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Further, industrialisation does not occur in a vacuum, and there are other influences for countries industrialising today that did not exist in the same way for countries industrialising over a hundred years ago. For instance, there are external pressures on industrialising countries that did not exist for others that industrialised in the eighteenth century. These include international finance controlled by an International Monetary Fund that lends money to industrialising countries only if they follow certain capitalist criteria in their development. Further differences relate to the global marketplace, where demand for goods and services has changed, as have the political economies of those countries and the industrialising countries. As Frank (1966) illustrates, over time the demand for labour will now differ. For instance, industrialisation is now more technologically based and relies less on labour-intensive practices (Skeldon, 2011).

Therefore, the demands for migration to service industrialisation today cannot be the same as they were in the past. Arguably, therefore, social forces will not necessarily tend towards an equilibrium because they do not exist within the same demand parameters. For example, if there is a demand for labour in the UK service industry, workers from other countries

would be attracted to move; however, these potential sending countries may have reached the same level of industrialisation (e.g., Latvia) and not have a surplus of labour. Further, political and social events such as Brexit can affect labour supply migration more than economic demands (Seidler, 2019).

Functionalist approaches can be further criticised as they do not analyse migrants as having potentially different experiences depending on their statuses, for example, how criteria such as ethnicity (Hughes, 1943), gender, class or age could interact to affect migration and return migration (Todaro, 1969). People's agency is unconsidered by Functionalist approaches that understand migration as a mass movement generated by structural demands. However, conversely, aspects of Functionalist arguments, for instance, those based on rational choice and wages (Hicks, 1939; Borjas, 1987,1989), argue that people evaluate marketplace wage structures and employment prospects before migration. These rational choice approaches do not consider people's individual status differences and how these can interact and influence migration. Nor do rational choice approaches consider other non-wage or employment reasons for migration, such as family commitments, education, or adventure.

### **2.1.2 Marxist Historical-Structural theories of migration**

Historical-Structural approaches to migration (Castles *et al.*, 1972; Gorz, 1970; Spybey, 1997), like the Functionalist approaches analysed above, are also deterministic in nature. However, as Gorz (1970) illustrates, Historical-Structural theories understand the

development of Capitalism as dependent upon the cheap supply of labour through migration:

There is no Western country where immigrant labour is a negligible force...

Nowhere do immigrant workers provide simply a 'regulator of employment, or merely an instrument for the 'reserve army of labour' (Gorz, 1970:28).

Indeed, since 1945 immigrant labour has formed a significant element of the labour force in Western European countries (Spybey, 1997).

One advantage of historical structural-determinism is that it does not view immigrants as active, rational thinkers that make automated decisions en masse to concur on migration. However, it ignores agency and superdiversity, which is discussed below and in Section 2. Further, Historical structural-determinism is more critical than Functionalist approaches by not viewing, as described in section 1.1, migration as a positive for both the sending and receiving country or region.

Historical-Structural approaches include Dependency theory (Frank 1966) and are concerned with the unequal relationship between industrialising and industrialised countries, focusing on past imperialist occupation. Frank (1966) develops this focus and argues that past imperialism has resulted in the depletion of scarce resources and unstable political, economic and social infrastructure. The recently occupied country is now in a situation of dependency on the past imperialist power. Moreover, systems such as the IMF create further dependency through loans that are created to support Capitalism and capitalist ideology. Another departure from the Functionalist model is that Historical-Structuralists do not consider migration as a rational choice, so it is not, therefore, the:

'Aggregate result of individuals operating rational choice but the result of socio-spatial inequalities' (Goss and Lindquist 1995: 318). Bhambra (2007,2022) develops a sophisticated alternative to a basic 'development of underdevelopment' theory. She argues that the whole of Western and European thought on modernity is ethnocentric in its approach to modernity (2007) and past interpretations have been based on the understanding of a duality of development. Further, the way that theories and concepts have been claimed as European is considered as incorrect: 'concepts and traditions are not European; what is of issue is the claiming of these concepts and traditions as *European*' (Bhambra, 2007:146). Bhambra therefore provides a call to understand human development as global and generated through 'connected histories'. I have, however, included this approach in this section, because Bhambra's (2007) argument is developed further (2022) to incorporate a focus on reparations that employs a Cartesian Dualism approach that is based on a notion of colonised, and colonisers, slaves and enslaved, development at the cost of underdevelopment. This form of dualism is not, as Bhambra (2007, 2022) argues, social constructionism and rests upon structural-determinism. For instance, Bhambra argues that we should understand our histories as interrelated, and that her proposed approach to understanding legacy relationships:

with re-thinks our current circumstances and the trajectories of change associated with them from multiple perspectives, rather than a dominant European one. This may, in part, be inaugurated by a heightened sense of globalization and its impact in the West, but, for the non-West, globalization has been a fact that they have endured for centuries. When the negative impact occurred primarily in the other direction – for example through processes of underdevelopment and

de-industrialization, as argued in previous chapters – this was not understood in terms of globalization; in many cases it was not understood at all within the dominant conceptions of modernity and macro-sociological thinking. ( Bhabra 2007:153).

Here Bhabra argues that it is important for sociologists to understand the structural impacts of underdevelopment from global viewpoints, and from diverse views, however, her argument rests upon a critical, historical structural-determinism, whilst criticising other approaches, including historical structural-deterministic Marxist approaches that are eurocentric. In this reasoning, migration occurs to Europe not because Europe offers great opportunities, weather or even education, but because of the development of underdevelopment (Frank 1966), that has at its heart past exploitations, slavery, and indentured servitude. This approach argues that it recognises a diversity of global understandings of development, but it is fundamentally Franks' (1966) development of underdevelopment, a historical structural-deterministic perspective appropriated and seen from non-Eurocentric perspective.

Thus, a further criticism of Historical-Structural and Dependency Theory approaches to migration is that they are overly deterministic. For instance, these approaches only focus on economic reasons for immigration that are created through imperialism and inequality (de Haas *et al.*, 2020). As Goss and Lindquist state, Historical-Structural and Dependency Theory do not consider individuality or processes of migration: 'that lead individuals to pursue employment overseas.' (Goss and Lindquist, 1995:317).

Therefore, these approaches only recognise limited agency in migration choice.

Further ignored are individual differences in migration based on people's status

and how these interact, with the working class being viewed as victims of capitalism.

### **2.1.3 Migration transition theories**

Migration transition theories argue that there are:

*Definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process (Zelinsky 1971:221-222)*

Zelinsky (1971) argues how migration reflects society's transition through stages of growth and that there is a model toward modernization that all societies go through. This model relies on migration. In stage one, for instance, Zelinsky argues that there are nomadic populations where migration is seasonal and internal. Meaning that the nomadic people do not venture to more advanced societies. In stage 2/3, societies begin to have settled populations, and people migrate internationally. From stage 2, where a country is pre-industrial, migration occurs to stage 3, an industrialising country. The last stage of migration is from stage 3 to stage 4 countries where there are more technological advances. In stage 4 countries, there occurs a low birth rate and a large, ageing population that was produced in the past to drive the stage 3 development.

I argue that a problem with Zelinsky's approach is that it determines that societies will follow a set pattern of economic development and migration. Therefore, Zelinsky does not consider migration occurring for factors other than economic



ones. Reasons for migration that are not considered are, for instance, religious freedom and escape from persecution. This is problematic as early global migration from Europe to the Americas occurred from stage 2 economies to stage 1 economies. Another example of migration and development not following a set pattern is provided by Hughes (1943), who supplies evidence that cultural groups will react to industrialisation differently. His example being that the British and French communities in Quebec differed in their migration from rural to urban centres in terms of time and density (Hughes 1943).

Therefore, not all groups react in the same way to industrialisation. Further, migration is not driven solely by social transformation, but can occur for reasons as simple as the desire to retire to a warm climate. Zelinsky (1971) does not consider forced migration, for instance, due to slavery or colonisation by imperialist powers. Zelinsky does reflect on the potential for technological advances presenting circumstances in stage 3 countries where potential migrants remain in their home environment. However, this consideration does not fully appreciate how global developments mean that industrialisation and social transformation cannot occur in exactly the same way that they did in the past. Lastly, linking migration to population growth and development, Zelinsky argues that when a situation of population stability, in terms of births and deaths, is reached, migration inflow will stop. Zelinsky's argument can be questioned as there could be a potential for migration as a result of natural and man-made disasters, such as drought and war, forcing people to migrate.

Building on Zelinsky's transition theory, Skeldon (1990,1997,2012) argues that migration represents a continued: 'demographic process across space and through time.' (2012:154). Skeldon (2012) focuses on global changes in urbanisation, fertility and mortality. In doing so, Skeldon analyses how these can be understood as social transitions that are linked to migration. As de Hass et al. (2020) state, Skeldon (1990, 1997,2012) applies a Functionalist perspective that considers the relationships leading to migration between urbanised and urbanising countries. Thus, Skeldon's perspective developed Zelinsky's theory to include the connections between: 'economic, social, and political processes that are also diffusing in space and time. Agrarian, health, and gender transitions are briefly considered in this context.' (Skeldon 2012:154). Therefore, Skeldon analyses more factors that can intertwine to determine the form and shape of migration.

Skeldon (2012) criticises Zelinsky's use of transition theory, arguing that elemental: 'criticism of the demographic, mobility, and migration transitions can be levelled at the primacy given to population variables at the expense of other social, economic, and political factors.' Therefore, Skeldon nods towards the importance of social, economic and political factors in encouraging migration, such as crises arising from recession and fundamental changes in social policies.

#### **2.1.4 Migration Systems Theories: Migration Networks and New Economics of Migration.**

Migration systems theories developed to overcome the impasse between the Functionalist and Marxist approaches to migration (Goss and Lindquist 1995), and they attempt to move their analysis beyond a consideration of migration as purely responsive to differences in socio-economic development. Away from structural differences, for example, economic vagaries, that Functionalism and Marxist Historical Materialism focus on (discussed in 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 and developed in 2.1.4).

Migration Network theory considers migration as a tool used by families to provide different income streams. There is an argument that migration is temporary and occurs from rural to urban areas even if there are no wage differences (Stark and Boom, 1985; Constant and Massey, 2002). Wages from family activities and businesses from primary sectors, like farming and fishing, are prone to seasonal variation and do not provide a steady income (Constant and Massey, 2002). The same logic applies to secondary industries, such as rural service industries like tourism.

According to New Economies and Household Theories, migration provides families with an opportunity to improve their comparative socioeconomic status in their origin communities; it, therefore, supports the idea that migration occurs in a situation of relative, as opposed to basic, poverty. Migrants send money back to their families whose comparative status improves. This approach seeks to establish why migration return occurs (Todaro, 1969).

New Economic and Household approaches can be criticised for a lack of consideration of personal agency and differences due to status, such as gender. As de Haas and Fokkema (2010) explore, New Economic and Household approaches need to consider the: 'intra-household power inequalities, tensions, and conflicts of interest in migration decision making.' (2010:542). It is, therefore, necessary to introduce the potential of conflict within families to understand how relationships between those who remain and those who send remittances can develop (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010).

### **2.1.5 Structuration Theory and Migration**

Goss and Linqvist (1995) apply the principles of Giddens' (1984, 1990) Structuration Theory to an analysis of migration. They state that in Structuration Theory: 'Structures objectively exist, but not as rarefied concepts such as the global economy nor as forces which inexorably compel individual actions. Rather, structures are rules and resources' (1995:331). Thus, Giddens (1984, 1990) argues against structural forces as imbued with historical-materialist independence or a functional necessity, both aspects of positivism. Giddens, therefore, argues positivist approaches are overly deterministic in their application of structural influences to an understanding of society. As Turner (1986) states, 'Giddens rejects the search for abstract laws' and hence, 'As a result, much of Giddens's work is a series of definitions of concepts that are presumably meant to denote, more adequately than in current social theory, the important processes in the social world' (1986:970).

Giddens (1984) does not consider Interpretivist approaches as providing an adequate alternative to Positivism. Turner (1986) further analyses Structuration Theory and demonstrates its complexity, and attempts to combine the influence of social rules and regulations upon agency; how Structuration Theory aims to incorporate social action and the influence of social structures. In undertaking this analysis, Turner describes Giddens's (1984) approach as attempting to understand agency as a model of stratification that, 'appears to be a combination of psychoanalytic theory, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and elements of action and interactionist theory.' (1986:973).

In their application of Structuration Theory to migration, Goss and Lindquist (1995) seek to develop the understanding of migrant networks discussed above in Section 2.1.4, into a concept that sees networks as 'institutions that articulate, in a non-functionalist way, the individual migrant and the global economy, 'stretching' social relations across time and space to bring together the potential migrant and the overseas employer.' (1995:335). This so-called 'stretching' over time and space is an element of Structuration Theory that Peillon (1985) argues introduces a level of unnecessary and unjustifiable complexity. This unjustifiable complexity, I would argue, is observable in Goss and Lindquist's (1995) analysis of migration. For instance, they interpret Giddens (1984) in the following way: 'The increased scale and diversity of international labor migration thus results from and is an index of the massive expansion of time-space distancing of society activity in the contemporary era.' Here they attempt to link diversification in migration to complex international and national organisations, which they also loosely link to advances in travel possibilities.

One main theme in functionalist and structural Marxist migration theories is that they are both based on the conjecture and essential assumption that migration is responsive to economic disparity. For instance, as Goss and Lindquist (1995: 317) state, these approaches argue that the: 'migration of labor is a response to a wage differential or inequality between the source and destination countries caused by a difference in level of socioeconomic development.' . Consequently, functionalist and structural Marxist approaches, discussed above in sections 2.1 – 2.2 and to some degree in section 2.3, concentrate on migration for economic reasons focusing on workers and not differentiating in terms of cultural, social and political variances nor considering reactions to natural or man-made disasters, such as drought or war.

Hence, functionalism and structural Marxism understand migration as action undertaken collectively, with migrants following patterns that can be determined and reacting to stimuli in the same fashion. Attempts to refine this understanding of migration moved to incorporate a reflection on social, economic and political factors, however, it still focused on the effects upon populations and ignored status factors and how these can intersect.

Therefore, theories developed to consider migration as arising out of, 'social, economic and political change and affecting entire communities' (de Haas *et al.*, 2020:42). Further, migration was argued (Zelinsky, 1971; Castles *et al.*, 1972; Gorz, 1970; Skeldon, 1990, 1997, 2012; Spybey, 1997; de Haas *et al.*, 2020) to mainly occur not from the poorest to the richest countries, but from those that have undergone industrial urbanisation to more urbanised centres (Zelinsky, 1971; Skeldon, 1990, 1997, 2012; de Haas *et al.*, 2020). Skeldon (2012) developed the transition theory of migration to incorporate an understanding of how

economic, social and political transitions and how they can be linked, using quantitative data and statistical analysis and applying these to migration changes. Consequently, migration changes are linked to political transition and economic crises (Skeldon, 2012), such as those leading to the 'great recession' (Hazans, 2019:64) that Hazans (2015, 2019) argues led to increased emigration from Latvia. Massey (1993) further explored changes to migration, linking fertility and morbidity to increased immigration to countries like Japan that, over time, has experienced a fertility deficit (Massey, 1993).

Comparing the data sources, findings and arguments provided by Greenwood 1970; Ramos and Surinach 2016, Zelinsky 1971, Castles *et al* 1972, Gorz 1970, Rostow 1960, Frank 1966, Spybey 1997, and Skeldon 1990, 1997, it is clear that the sources used are primarily based on statistical data largely from secondary statistical databases. For instance, Skeldon (2012) states that the statistics used are based on: net migration data [that] are derived from the balance of emigrant and immigrant stocks generated from the Global Origins Database of the DFID-sponsored Development Research Centre on Globalisation, Migration and Poverty at the University of Sussex at: [www.migrationdrc.org](http://www.migrationdrc.org). (Skeldon, 2012, p.X).

Using such databases, arguably makes it possible to discern trends and patterns in migration that are linked to political, social and economic structures (Zelinsky 1971; Castles *et al.*, 1972; Gorz 1970; Rostow 1960; Frank 1966; Spybey 1997; Skeldon 1990, 1997, 2012). Whether migration has a positive function and is necessary and important for development (Rostow, 1960; Gorz, 1970) or it can be examined critically as creating the 'development of underdevelopment' (Frank 1960, Spybey 1997), it is linked to structural factors. Skeldon (2012) develops the approach used in earlier works (Zelinsky, 1971; Skeldon, 1990, 1997) to

consider more non-economically driven factors linked to migration, such as urbanisation, political, and social (fertility and morbidity) change. However, Skeldon (2012) provides an analysis primarily based on quantitative data, relying on statistics to understand migration.

Structuration Theory provides a complex alternative to Functionalist, Marxist Historical-Structural theory, Migration Transition Theories and Migration System Theories.

Structuration theory, however, in its attempt to modify an understanding of structural influence to that of a less positivistic institutional influence upon human networks across time and space, is described as over-complicated 'conceptual mapping' (Peillon 1985:262).

Further, in my analysis of Goss and Lindquist (1995) application of Structuration Theory directly to migration, I did not observe any reflection upon individuals or how their statuses, for instance, gender, class or ethnicity, might intersect.

Alternative approaches to migration have occurred within sociology. For instance, Hughes (1943) provides a case study that compares two different cultural groups in rural Canada and how these cultural differences lead to diversity in the rate of urbanisation and the choice of migration to urban centres. Hughes does not essentialise the experiences of migration to the individual. However, his focus on cultural group diversity highlights the nuances of choice that can be missed when relying on statistics and looking for patterns in large populations. Hughes's study demonstrates the core of the issues with the studies discussed in the previous paragraph, this being that they do not use primary, empirical qualitative data to understand the subtleties of preferences in migration that can reflect statuses like gender, class, ethnicity and age. This is also a concern of sociologists who have



attempted to use a form of data collection and analyses that support a structuration approach.

## **2.2 Migration Theory and an explanation of the ‘added value’ of perspectives derived from Bourdieu and where my thesis sits in respect to the field.**

‘This means that, although it (social capital) is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent, or even by the whole set of agents to whom he is connected, social capital is never completely independent of it’ (Bourdieu 1986:249), my added brackets.

In this section, I situate my theoretical approach in respect of the field of migration studies.

In Section 2.2.2, I begin with a critical analysis of changes in the use of Migration Network Theory and the application of social capital as a concept independent of cultural and economic capital. As the quote above states, social capital as used by Bourdieu (1986), is never completely independent of economic and cultural capital. I therefore explore and critique the use of social capital and network analysis as a standalone concept in migration studies through an evaluation of Ryan (2007, 2011) and Ryan *et al.* (2009) and their contributions to migration studies. These aforementioned approaches focus on networks and social capital as a concept not developed in the Bourdieusian (1986) sense, although Ryan’s later work (2015) does make explicit reference to Bourdieu (1986). However, in her early application, she does not utilise the concept of capital with a reflection on field, cultural or economic capital.

Section 2.2.3 provides an overview, analysis and critique of the use of social capital in an understanding of migration. In Section 2.3, there is a consideration of how migrants began to be understood as having differentiated experiences. The contribution of Vertovec (2007) and the concept of superdiversity is considered. Further, it is useful to reflect on Vertovec (2022) where there is an overview of the development of aspects of social theory and its significance to understandings of migration, and places after migration, since the 1980s. Vertovec (2022) reviews the adoption and use of multiculturalism as a method to understand migration in the 1980s and how this changed during the 1990s and 2000s to incorporate intersectionality. Further, in this section, there is a brief reflection on developments in phenomenological philosophy and existentialism that provided the space for Arendt, Bourdieu and Vertovec to reject and develop understandings of being and interpretations of self within developed and developing structures. It is the combination of these approaches, all of which have an existentialist philosophical underpinning, that influences my application of Bourdieusian tools to understand migration. Thus, the recognition and exploration of the reality of a superdiversity of experience as influenced by specific field constructs (Vertovec 2007, 2022); the lived experience of the migrant (Arendt 2013) and reflection on adaptation to new fields; and significantly for my methodology, how the Bourdieusian concepts of capital, field and habitus are useful for me to explore the situation of the migrant and their varied abilities to adapt to a new place.

### 2.2.1 The use of Migration Network Theory and the application of Social Capital.

Ryan (2007) develops the Migration Network theory approach discussed in Section 2.1.3 above and does this through an examination of the networks formed by 30 Irish nurses who

had emigrated to Britain. Ryan's (2007) methodology includes network analysis to understand how the formation of loose and close friendships enables her case study cohort of Irish nurses to settle in a new environment. Through her research Ryan (2007) provides an analysis of how the migration experience intersects with motherhood and gender. Similar to the network analysis of other Network Migration scholars (Stark and Boom 1986; Constant and Massey 2002), Ryan's (2007) research and output provides an understanding that migration is temporary and occurs from rural to urban areas. Ryan (2007) understands her cohort as bounded by Irish ethnicity, gender and class.

Ryan (2007) provides a critical analysis of the work of other scholars of gender and migration (Ackers, 1998; Kofman *et al.*, 2000; Morokvasic, 2004; Zulauf, 2001), and in so doing, she identifies the importance for her study of intersectionality, particularly how gender intersects with migration. Ryan notes how studies (e.g., Ackers, 1998) have published empirical data that, although analysing gender and migration, demonstrate women moving as dependents under the EU Freedom of Movement Provision (TFEU), as opposed to considering their status as workers. However, in her critical analysis of Ackers' (1998) research, Ryan (2007) ignores the extent of empirical data that Ackers analysed. Ackers' evidence was gathered through snowball sampling throughout the EU, and although not representative of all women moving under the TFEU, over one hundred interviews took place. Ackers' research found that the women participants were often moving as dependents. This was a finding, not a framing of a research cohort. In her critical analysis of Ackers' (1998) study, Ryan (2007) argues that because most of the women interviewed in Ackers' study were dependents of EU workers, there is a lack of understanding of how

women find work. Ryan also criticises Ackers because she does not use Network Analysis, for instance, there is no central focus on how Ackers' participants form support networks and friendships. However, the focus of Acker's study is on how women moving under the TFEU access social provision and welfare support, as such, it does not aim to establish how women form networks, establish friendships or find work. Ryan (2007) focuses much of her argument on the limitation of other gender and migration research studies, specifically Ackers' (1998) contribution.

Ryan (2007) does not use the term social capital in her 2007 paper; however, it is implicit in her writing as she describes the importance of the gender and motherhood bonds that the Irish nurses form and how these support their ability to settle in England and find work.

Ryan's study demonstrates that migration needs to be understood in greater depth by doing more than simply focusing on the 'what' happens question. The processes of migration and not just the outcomes need to be considered. As Ryan (2007: 295) states, 'while there is a lively interest in transnational networks and global chains of care, many migration studies have simply taken for granted the existence of post-migration networks'. This demonstrates that it is important to understand how people migrate and settle into new environments.

For my use of capital, however, I aim to develop its application to incorporate cultural and economic capital and a reflection on field. Further, although my methodological aim (see Chapter 4) is to use a bounded case study, the theoretical understanding is that people are seen, and understand themselves, in a multitude of ways, beyond their ethnicity (Vertovec 2007) and that this is understandable through their habitus (Bourdieu 1986). This moves beyond the intersectionality demonstrated to some degree by Ryan (2007, 2011) and Ryan

et al. (2009), since my focus is on the gaining of capital in a particular field and its adapted use in another.

Ryan's (2007) focus on post-migration networks provides a development of Migration Network Theory. However, Ryan (2007) arguably over-stresses the use of social networks, and ignores cultural and economic factors (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Krawatzek and Müller-Funk, 2020). This is an oversight that ignores how, as Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011:1) describe, 'culture permeates all aspects of the development enterprise—as a challenge and an opportunity. Migrants carry ideas, practices and narratives which enable mobility and different forms of membership and belonging'. This idea that culture is an important factor for migrants and their choice of settlement, is introduced by Hughes (1943) and discussed in Section 2.1.2 above. Further, Bourdieu (1986) illustrates how social capital is reliant upon cultural and economic capital, it can only exist because of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, although Bourdieu promotes the idea that concepts such as social capital should be explored, used and applied in a different manner to his application, social capital cannot exist without cultural capital.

Further, Ryan's (2007) focus on social networks ignores other factors that could lead to emigration and affect settlement in a new place, for instance, events in the country of emigration such as political upheaval, recession or natural disasters, or choices based on diverse considerations such as gaining new language skills or having an adventure (Glick Schiller *et al.*, 2006; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2008; Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2013). As Glick

Schiller and Çağlar (2013) demonstrate in their consideration of how immigrants settle into a city, to understand how migrants use and build networks, it is important to consider time and place (in Bourdieusian terms, field). For instance, migrant networks 'in relation to local institutions, structures and narratives, as they emerge at particular moments in the historical trajectory and multiscale positioning of specific cities.' (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2013:494). Therefore, Ryan's (2007) focus ignores how events at field level could influence migration and the forming of identity and networks.

Cederberg (2012) provides an analysis of the usefulness of social capital in understanding migration and inequalities. Cederberg clearly outlines the importance of using the concept of social capital in respect of Bourdieu's (1986) use of the term, and does this by critiquing Putnam's (2007). Cederberg links social capital to culture, power and wealth, stating: 'Bourdieu's version puts emphasis on power and resource differentials.' (2012:61), however, there is no explicit recognition that social capital cannot exist as an independent concept. I argue that Cederberg (2012) Ryan (2007; 2009; 2011; 2018) and Ryan *et al.* (2015) are invested in Migration Network theory without critically analysing or understanding that this is a theoretical approach as well as a methodology.

In summary, I have outlined how the migration literature has developed analyses along gender lines and includes a consideration of how gender intersects with other criteria, such as motherhood. I have demonstrated how Migration Network analysis has been central as a theory and methodology. In the next section, there is a consideration of how migrants began to be understood as having differentiated experiences.

### **2.2.2 Developments in the use of Social Capital and Multicultural Approaches to Migration Theory.**

Migrant Network analysis is an approach notable in Ryan *et al* (2015) for instance as Anthias (Ryan *et al.* 2015: xii) states that, 'social networks can be treated as resources which potentially yield social capital' and that 'social capital is not a commodity as such but is emergent and shifting dependent on context, that is, related to temporality and spatiality'. For Ryan *et al.*, the term 'migrant capital' joins the capital lexicon, however, it is social capital used by migrants, with some implicit links to cultural and economic capital.

For Ryan *et al.*, 'migrant capital' is a new concept, understandable as capital used by migrants, not a concept that is based on social capital with a nod to cultural and economic capital. I argue that the term 'migrant capital' does not make sense as migrants from different places (fields) will have different cultural, social and economic capital. There is no one migrant experience (Vertovec, 2007).

However, although migrants from different places have differing cultural capital, they can be drawn to each other because of their migrant status. For instance, in a case study of migrants to Spain from the Indian subcontinent, Molina (2015), provides insight into how networks are built over time. Molina demonstrates that migrants can seek others from their origin country. However, an important observation gained through an analysis of Molina is that migrants can be drawn to each other and work together because of their migrant status, and they might not share an ethnic group.

Molina's (2015) focus on how social capital builds over time mirrors Ryan's (2007) observation, that the building of migrant networks is an important aspect of migration, and they should not be taken as pre-existing but rather, as dynamic. Molina adopts the concept 'ethnic enclave' (Portes and Manning 1986) to describe a space consisting of migrants from the same origin and ethnic background. However, this contradicts their own findings as Molina (2015) demonstrates through case study analysis that, although migrants can work together, they are not necessarily from the same ethnic or religious background. Thus, Molina (2015) ignores how places of immigration are superdiverse.

Reynolds' (2015) conceptualisation of social capital understands both social and cultural capital as usable only externally to the person. She does not, however, reflect on how these forms of capital are accumulative. This, as discussed above in the introduction, is opposite to Bourdieu's (1986) understanding of cultural and social capital, in which he argues that social capital cannot exist independently of cultural capital; that 'although it is not irreducible to the economic and cultural capital' (1986:249), a person or group's possession of social capital is 'never completely independent' (1986:249). For instance, a person's membership of a group and their gaining of social capital exists because of other factors, such as their language, work, and hobbies. This is a detail that Reynolds (2015) and Putnam (1993, 2000, 2007) do not consider, as they treat social capital as explicitly independent. The problem with this approach to social capital is that it ignores habitus, field, cultural and economic capital.



Habitus represents people's different acquisition of capital and their subsequent experiences of field and provides their scope of ability to deal with field. Using Bourdieu's (1986) concepts and fully considering cultural, economic, social capital, habitus and field avoids the use of terminology that attempts to be a catch-all phrase to produce a meaningful label, such as migrant capital. Not all migrants will experience migration in the same way, come from the same places (field) or have the same or comparable habitus (Vertovoc 2007). Further, they may or may not form networks. This argument is supported by Bourdieu's (2016) description of the use of the term 'popular' vis-à-vis language use. Bourdieu (2016) demonstrates how the application of the term 'popular' to language cannot be standardised. It could mean different things. Bourdieu suggests that it is not possible to apply the term 'popular speech' to one group. It is, therefore, not meaningful, and to use the term 'popular speech', for instance, creates a discursive concept. Similarly, I argue that using the term 'migrant capital' and applying it to the experiences of migrants ignores the peculiarities that migrants can experience coming from different fields. Migrants are not standardisable, and neither are the networks they form. To state that migrants have a 'migrant capital' that arises directly from networks (Ryan, 2015:3) creates a discursive concept. Focusing on networks places an emphasis on social capital, even if cultural and economic capital are applied as part of a migrant's habitus. This can be criticised, for instance, because participation in a group, even a generally reciprocal, homogeneous network, may not function to produce a tighter sense of belonging or, as Putnam (2000) argues, a stronger bonded social capital. If it does produce bonded social capital, then understanding how this is connected to cultural and economic capital is necessary. That is, why some people within a workplace or other forms of group progress and gain more from

membership than others is an important consideration. Friedman and Laurison's (2020) research demonstrates how people gain different levels of social capital in the workplace depending on their accumulated cultural and economic capital. Therefore, social capital is not an independent concept, and it has to be considered as tied to cultural and economic capital. If there is a consideration of how the person accumulates capitals and how these interact with each other within a field of experience, and this consideration is grounded in empirical data, then both *vis insita* and *lex insita*, (discussed in Section 2.3), are incorporated into understanding.

Putnam's (2000) approach can be compared to that of Durkheim (1951) who attempted to demonstrate that membership of different religions, which he classed as having varying degrees of support for an individual, would influence personal behaviour and provide a differing sense of belonging. Hence ignoring agency. Further, it is possible, for instance, to be part of a workplace team and not benefit from this. This is the problem with considering social capital as a stand-alone concept, or in placing it juxtaposed to cultural capital.

Therefore, Putman (2000) oversimplifies the concept of social capital by understanding it as gained from social structures and established relationships and ignoring the complexity of the role of accumulated cultural and economic capital in that process. Putman, for example, describes social capital as: 'social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness' (2000:19). He describes networks as 'connections among individuals', being formed from social capital and, in turn creating social capital. This process is not accumulation in the sense of acquiring contacts and maintaining friendships but is, as Portes

(1998) argues, a problematic circulatory understanding reliant upon social structures. Portes demonstrates that by placing the concept of social capital as a property of social structures, and ignoring the *how* or agency of its construction, in Putnam's authorship, social capital becomes both cause and effect. Portes illustrates a further circularity as Putnam suggests that social capital is that which: 'leads to positive outcomes, such as economic development and less crime, and its existence is inferred from the same outcomes.' (2011:19).

Further, Putnam's (1993, 2000, 2007, 2015) definition of social capital, rests heavily on an analysis of what Portes (2011:20) describes as: 'results first'. Putnam starts by looking at the phenomenon, and then works retrospectively to discover its origin; for instance, Putnam (2000) argues a reduction in social capital must have arisen from a reduction in civic virtue, since he considers them to be closely related. However, one does not necessarily lead to the other, and there could be other factors involved in a reduction of social capital. Further, Portes (2011) posits that Putnam's analysis basically lacks rigour as he does not expand his deduction beyond the one causal argument. Putnam (1993, 2000, 2007) is arguably convinced by his own hypothesis, which he fails to test. What Putnam does do is supply a great deal of evidence to support his argument, but none that can be tested as falsifiable; there is no critical analysis of his own data.

Putnam's focus on social networks and their potential for providing social capital ignores the accumulation of social capital over time and, as argued throughout my thesis, social capital's necessary close ties to cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986:241). In the work of Eve (2009), there

is an exploration of data gained from a case study of migrants moving from Southern Italy to Turin. Eve's findings are that there is a reorganisation of social networks on arrival. Eve (2009) proposes that social groups are based-on and formed through overlaps between friendship groups and family. Therefore, Eve demonstrates that people are not necessarily drawn to a network because of the ethnicity of the group, but rather it is proximity that leads to the development of networks. Furthermore, Eve demonstrates the cumulative nature of social capital.

Eve's (2009) argument contrasts with Anthias and Cederberg (2009), who examine how migrants can use social networks based on ethnicity as a strategy to support their economic prospects. They assess three families to understand the role ethnicity plays in network creation. Their findings are that extended family can provide support if available, as can friendship networks based on ethnicity. However, Eve's (2009) work is interesting for my study, as the Latvian participants do not all share a common ethnicity. Using Eve's approach, cultural capital, in the form of common language and not a common ethnicity, could support individuals' social capital and enable them to build larger social networks.

An analysis of the above case studies leads to my reasoning that migration can be better examined using habitus, field, social, economic and cultural capital. To omit any, arguably, will ignore their interplay and risk the potential of missing the significance of data. Focusing, as the Ackers (1998) study did on access to social provision for migrants without a reflection on their changed sense of self or development of social groups and capital after migration,

demonstrates a lack of consideration of how immigrants settle. Further, as discussed in the consideration of the development of the work of Ryan (2007, 2011), Ryan *et al.* (2009) and Reynolds (2015), some case study research on migration has focused on the development of social networks as a creation solely or largely of social capital.

There are problems with an overemphasis on social capital. Considering it as a standalone concept has led to a lack of consistent interpretation. Putnam can be criticised for attempting to understand it as existing separate to the person and as only responsive to structural influences. There is a lack of consideration of the intricate connections between social, cultural and economic capital that Bourdieu (1986) has illustrated. Due to the application of Putnam's approach (Reynolds 2015), there have been circular arguments and disjointed partial descriptions of the nature of social capital and migration. As Reimer *et al.* (2008:257) argue in their analysis of social capital: 'The concept is used to describe a vast range of social phenomena, yet there is inconsistency regarding its use and little consensus regarding its meanings.' It is therefore necessary to provide, through critical analysis, a solid definition of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) does this by demonstrating social capital as reliant upon cultural and economic capital and an example would be, for instance, that it is not possible to gain social capital as part of a group of deaf people if a person does not sign; the cultural capital in this instance is the ability to sign. Bourdieu (1986) demonstrates clearly that social capital does not exist independently of cultural capital. However, social capital is used by those attempting to understand network building (Reynolds 2015; Keles 2015; Molina 2015) and the importance of cultural capital has not always been acknowledged.

I, therefore, argue that using social capital to investigate migration and subsequent network building, does not provide a full and rounded understanding. Further, even undertaking an analysis of social capital as discursive, is not enough; it is, arguably, not an independent concept at all, and this is the approach I intend to take. I will apply social capital as it is interrelated to economic and cultural capital and attempt to demonstrate how it has developed over time with other capitals to form field-specific habits. Further, the idea of field-specific habitus needs to be understood within the context of digital technology, as this is a new field opening via the internet in the development of migrant habitus.

### **2.2.3 Developments in Migration Theory, Bourdieu, Arendt and Vertovec. Where my approach sits.**

Vertovec (2007) premiered superdiversity as a concept applicable to migration and the places to which migration occurs. Vertovec argues that experiences and identity are not standardised and, therefore, migration is experienced differently. Hence, migration experiences are not directly comparable between groups of migrants. Using this logic, there is no 'migration capital'. Indeed, Vertovec's concept of superdiversity does not understand people as being their group label. Vertovec (2019) argues that superdiversity is not the same as intersectionality and: 'I further suggested that understanding the patterns of superdiversity calls for an approach to research that could simultaneously take into account the compound effects of multiple variables or characteristics.' (2019:134). He argues that placing people into smaller groups and subgroups does not reflect multiple variables or characteristics (Vertovec, 2022). The subgroups are stereotyped classifications created by

the researcher. Using the concept of superdiversity, migrants' experiences cannot be homogenised; applying this reasoning there must be differing cultural, economic and social capital, but there is no 'migrant capital' applicable to all migrants, or comparable experiences of embedding in a networked community. Vertovec (2022) argues that people understand themselves in a multitude of ways, beyond a bounded ethnic group, and beyond their stereotyped statuses. This reflects Arendt's (2013) comment: 'Tout d'abord, nous n'aimons pas que l'on nous traite de « réfugiés ». Nous nous baptisons « nouveaux arrivants » ou « immigrés »' (2013:5) that translates from French to English as: 'First of all, we do not like to be called 'refugees'. We call ourselves 'new arrivals' or 'immigrants'.' This comment is made under the title of her paper: 'Nous autres réfugiés': 'We others [the] refugees' (2013). Here, Arendt is illustrating social stereotyping, how powerful language can be as a tool, but also how people are more than their label. I observe that both Vertovec (2007, 2022) and Arendt (2013) use a philosophy that is influenced by a form of existentialism. Approaches to existentialism differ, however, as Sartre (2007) explains, they share common features, for example, the: 'belief that existence precedes essence; or, if you prefer, subjectivity must be our point of departure.' (Sartre, 2007:20-21).

The development of my own understanding of the potential for existentialism began in the 1990s when I was, through postgraduate study, involved with what Spybey (1996) describes as cultural entrepreneurs in Cornwall. The Cornish Nationalist, Philip Payton was at this time the Director of the Institute for Cornish Studies, and it was his vision (Payton, 1997) that social structures have been, and can be, manipulated to re-invent a shared vision of history and that could recreate

the social and political field in Cornwall in the 1990s. This experience gave me an understanding of how field structures are fluid and can be manipulated, particularly by those with cultural capital. A simple demonstration of the result of entrepreneurialism of this nature is the regular use of a constructed Cornish vernacular now, where there was no live language still in use in the 1990s.

I argue that this approach that we are born as subjective beings by default leads to the conclusion that how we understand ourselves as socially constructed.

Potentially part of that social construction is purposefully manipulated, as demonstrated by Arendt (2013). We are, therefore, not a gender, 'race', regional ethnic group, or a class until we are classified as such. To use a Bourdieusian term, our capital is therefore acquired from those around us, and how we interpret the world is dependent upon field. From capital and field, we gain our habitus.

However, we have diverse influences upon us, and as Vertovec (2007, 2019, 2022) observes, this will lead to a superdiversity of experiences. I argue that the only way to understand inequality and any form of social movement, for instance, migration, is to use cultural, economic and social capital. This tool, created by Bourdieu (1986), deals with the existential understanding that we are born as subjective and gain our sense of self from our environment. However, this understanding of self is profound in its consequences and is acquired from social structures that are fluid.

There will be inequality if the social structures that exist are based on systems that promote inequality.



I argue that Bourdieu, Vertovec and Arendt have developed aspects of existential philosophy and rejected others, to understand the human condition in terms of accepting developing and developed structures (field conditions) as important factors influencing people. However, these factors are not permanent and will have a differential influence. In this respect, they all understand that social reality is constructed (Vertovec, 2022; Arendt, 2019; Bourdieu, 1986) however, there is a different influence upon people. This approach rejects the nihilism of Heidegger's (2022) existentialism. I question Robbins's (2019) argument that Sartre's understanding of existentialism is rejected by Bourdieu, as Sartre does attempt a positive understanding in terms of what latterly could be described as a structuration approach (to borrow Giddens's term, as discussed in Section 2.1). Bourdieu (1986) provides an understanding that demonstrates the importance, yet impermanence, of structures and gives us the term field; he provides an understanding of how people's self-identity is socially constructed, over time and is dependent on social classification, vis-à-vis structures and social positioning.

Arendt's (2017) philosophy rejects aspects of existentialism, specifically Heidegger's (2022) nihilist approach. She bases her appraisal of existentialism on the application of Aristotle's dualism of the body and those rights given to people by their position in society (Stonebridge 2011). People can only exist as social beings if both the body and the 'soul', the social being, are recognised. Arendt (2017) argues that if the body is separated from the social, then the person becomes nothing more than a flea. Therefore, whilst the existentialist argument is applicable to a degree, for instance, we are diverse, we are individual, we are not our label, however, we are subject to how others label us and how

they can take away our individuality and humanity. There is no direct link here to the Bourdieusian capital paradigm.

Similar to Vertovec (2022), Arendt argues that separating people from the social and ignoring aspects of their diverse selves, ignores the essence that makes them human. This can and does happen, and Arendt (2017) links this to nihilism and totalitarianism.

The implication is that people are individuals and should be understood as individuals. However, this is not existentialism in the form that Heidegger philosophised (Löwith 1948). It is not nihilist in the same way that Heidegger's philosophy is, (Löwith, 1948, Löwith et al., 1988); neither Vertovec nor Arendt are arguing that existence is without point or that people are not influenced by factors external to them and retain these influences as part of an important self-conception.

Superdiversity is the antithesis to groupism, tribalism, and to understanding people as having an existence that relies on, or can be understood as, a label. Vertovec (2022) describes how academic understanding of how people perceive themselves and interpret the world around them, has developed from labelling people as being one thing, for example, the colour of their skin, to, in the 1980s and 1990s, a move in academia that understands people through an intersectional lens. Although using an intersectional lens is considered problematic to Vertovec, as it places people into discrete bounded groups that the people themselves might not understand as their primary identifiers.

Therefore, Vertovec argues (2007, 2022) that labels applied to people do not reflect the reality of their sense of self. Labels, such as the term 'popular speech' (Bourdieu 2016) can be without foundation and loose to the extent that they are meaningless. Labels do not reflect the reality of experience. For instance, Arendt (2013) describes how Jews moved from country to country seeking sanctuary, learning a new language, and emulating cultural norms and values, but still to be labelled a Jew, to be stereotyped and to have their individuality, their humanity removed.

The term Superdiversity is a useful one to overcome stereotyping and labels based on categories, as Vertovec explains, 'Superdiversity is a concept offered to stimulate an understanding of the intersection of multiple characteristics that comprise contemporary processes of diversification.' (2022:4). I find the concept of superdiversity a useful one when considering migration and people's different cultural, economic and social capital. I would argue that my approach in this thesis is that field differences in a migrant's origin country contribute to their capital and how they can settle into a new society. Therefore, there can be no standardisation of use of networks or experiences of 'embedding' (Korinek, Entwisle, and Jampaklay, 2005:794) in a new field. Ryan (2018:233) provides the following: 'there is a need for a differentiated concept to capture the nuanced interplay of structural, relational, spatial and temporal embedding'. However, this sentence does not represent how Ryan's argument develops in her paper. Her argument on networking and embedding (2018) describes her research cohorts as 'Polish' or 'Irish' and as coming to the UK in patterned 'waves' of migration (2018:235). Therefore, Ryan does not evidence how a 'nuanced interplay of structural, relational and temporal' (2018:235) anything occurs. Further, she

mentions Vertovec (2007) briefly in one line that references superdiversity without understanding Vertovec's (2007) concept; this is where Ryan briefly states that people can overcome 'group cleavages' and that 'One could argue that this becomes particularly important in super-diverse environments such as London (Vertovec, 2007) so as to build connections and general trust across ethnic lines.' (2018:234). However, the use of the term 'ethnic lines' whilst referencing Vertovec (2007) indicates that Ryan does not understand Vertovec's concept of superdiversity or its philosophical underpinning.

Therefore, Ryan compares and contrasts the experiences of Irish nurses and female Polish migrants as discrete cultural groups of women. Although Ryan acknowledges London as presenting a diverse social destination stating that 'embedding is not only contextual and dynamic but also differentiated' and that 'Given varied place-specific opportunities, embedding may be negotiated differently across particular sectors of society.' (2018:237) her methodology is to focus on groups of migrants who share what she understands as a comparable migration history and bounded ethnicity. In this (2018) study, Ryan continues to use network analysis, although she now seeks to represent the migrant's understanding of networks. As Ryan states, she, 'sought to avoid delimiting network boundaries by allowing participants to decide how many contacts they wish to add'. (2018:237). Ryan's (2018) understanding of differentiated embeddedness attempts to employ the idea of a superdiversity of experiences for a migrant in a destination place, without establishing the field context of the emigrant before migration. Further, Ryan (2018) discusses differentiated migration, whilst aligning her methodological approach with a definite, positive process of networking and bounding her research group to cultural specifics, defining them as Irish or

Polish. In my methodological approach, discussed in Chapter 4, my aim is to build a case study of Latvian workers, whilst maintaining that they will have different cultural, economic and social capital to one another. Further, I would argue that there is an importance in understanding field differences for emigrants, someone from Latvia, I would argue, will have a different origin field experience to someone from Nigeria. Ryan (2018) does indicate the importance of understanding migration within the EU as different to that from other countries, however, for Ryan (2018), there is a move away from the application of cultural, economic and social capital as useful concepts in understanding migration. Although Ryan (2018) makes only one reference to Bourdieu, she does, however, does refer to Erel (2010), who uses cultural capital.

Vertovec (2007) understands migration as leading to increasingly diverse communities, this can be exemplified by the Polish, Latvian and Russian children playing outside my window as I write, shouting to each other in thick West Yorkshire accents. Their and their family's friendships are based on a commonality of migration experience, in terms of field factors such as a history of occupation and colonisation by the Soviet Union, a shared use of Russian, and accession to the EU in 2004. The philosophy of superdiversity leads me to argue that migrants' cultural capital, social connections and finances combine to provide different capacities to deal with and experience field in sending and receiving countries. Experiences are not standardised, nor are they individual. Vertovec's reflection on the reality of superdiversity in the UK, especially in cities, leads me to reflect upon the necessity of studying migration, not in terms of generalisable statuses, such as gender. My study needs to move beyond specific statuses, beyond intersectionality, to be responsive to how

people can use their capital and how this combines and has combined, to form their habitus and class.

In section 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 below, I analyse further the importance of Bourdieu's (1986) concepts to my theoretical approach to understanding migration. In 2.6 there is a consideration of the problems with fields, and in 2.7 I consider how migrants use technology, to varying effect, depending on their capital. In section 2.8, there is an introduction to crises, and their importance in influencing migration, again with a reflection on how people's capital will mean a different reaction to crises.

### **2.3 Capital**

Bourdieu's (1986) argument is that capital must be understood in all its forms, it is: 'impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms.' (1986:242). Bourdieu's focus is to explain capital as more than economics, human assets or social networking. Bourdieu describes capital as existing in three main categories, as social, economic and cultural; these are interdependent and inter-reliant forms of exchange. Consequently, in 2.8 I critique approaches to capital that focus solely on one form, for instance, social capital as discussed by Putman, (1993, 2000, 2007) and explore this critique in terms of the migration literature that uses Bourdieusian approaches.

An illustration of the way in which different forms of capital can intertwine and inform each other is, for instance, how the capital obtained from a degree gained from a prestigious university can afford the bearer with recognition, a well-paid career and can reinforce social connections. Further, the confidence to consider a prestigious university can be reflective of habitus. This confidence leads to an ability to fit into certain fields with ease (Friedman and Laurison, 2020). Therefore, the unseen advantages of capital become recognised in an 'institutionalised state' with the qualification (Bourdieu, 1986:243). Furthermore, Bourdieu's (1986) understanding of capital is that it is recursive. If the field changes, the nature of capital within the field can change, however, the rule still applies, the ability to accumulate capital results in habitus that provides the bearer with advantage within any given field.

The importance of cultural, social and economic capital as intrinsically linked concepts is developed by Friedman and Laurison (2020). They illustrate the essential cultural and social elements of capital and their interrelated qualities, for example, the bearing one gains from attending a Public-School field and habituation to the 'top' echelons of society is learned. Through this process a person gains connections and these represent their social capital. Cultural capital accumulated from the example here, the field of Public-School education, is therefore not solely structural '*Vis insita*' (Bourdieu, 1986:241), for example, in the form of certificates, but it is also '*lex insita*' (1986:241), part of the fundamental principles of interaction. The ignoring of the interconnectivity of different capital leads to a lack of ability to fully understand and examine all elements of a social field. For instance, although Putnam (2015:44) nods towards the importance of education in the formation of class, his understanding of education in its structural, objective form and not in any way its *lex insita* manner, misses the way in which class informs and underlies social capital and the

formation of social groups and capital. Even when Putnam (2015) focuses on aspects of education that are not gained directly from the formal curriculum, but from the informal curriculum of extra-curricular activities, he does not link accumulation and *lex insitia* to the development of cultural capital, but only to economic capital and social capital. This is an important oversight, as Bourdieu (1986:26-27) argues aspects of capital that are often ignored include:

symbolic profits that education provides in a deferred, indirect way, such as the added value which the dispositions produced or reinforced by schooling (bodily or verbal manners, tastes, etc.) ...

Thus, Bourdieu (1986) argues that capital underlies the principle and fundamental norms of the social world. Further, capital must be understood as informing what is often taken for granted, for example, he argues that some believe there is a meritocracy and a world of chance, but such beliefs are spurious. Inequality in the amount of capital one can use in social correspondence and the way one can use it, means that not everyone has an equality of advantage in every field (Lin 2002). Further, Anthias and Cederberg (2009) argue that access to social capital can be differentiated according to status. According to Anthias and Cederberg, social capital is not substantive or concrete: 'Social capital is not a "thing", and it is never fixed.' (2009:903). Social capital is, instead, considered as fluid, situational and personal. Therefore, it is necessary to understand it in the context of the participants' history and current circumstances, in Bourdeusian terms, their habitus. The temporal nature of capital is discussed by Friedman and Savage (2018:71):

We argue that Bourdieu's sensitivity to time and temporality, his interest in accumulation, his awareness of the cultural and subjective, as well as



structural components of mobility, as well as his multidimensional approach offers a highly productive way of taking forward a wide-ranging account of social mobility.

Accumulation over time and an awareness of different cultural subjectivities are important in understanding any form of mobility between fields. Friedman and Savage (2018) further explain how social mobility is occurring within 'a world that is also changing' (2018:71), however, they explain that even though the social field is dynamic, it is the 'subtle continuities' of privilege accumulation that occupies much of Bourdieu's work.

#### **2.4 Habitus**

As Bourdieu (1990:10) explains, habitus is, 'a way of escaping from the choice between a structuralism without subject and the philosophy of the subject.' In other words, habitus as a concept has been developed as a bridging tool between deterministic and agential accounts of subjective experiences. Bourdieu (1990) is therefore arguing there are no absolutes, no total socialisation solely from structures, in contrast to, for example, a Hegelian or Marxist understanding of the economic structure of society (historical materialism) and how it creates new social realities. Furthermore, Bourdieu argues there is no complete agency to (re)construct social reality. People act on their habitus without reflecting on it, for instance, habitus informs the reasonable choices that people make. Reasonable choice is discussed in more detail throughout this thesis as it results directly from people's habitus. It is a challenge to understand why people emigrate when they do so as a reasonable choice. Understanding how emigration takes place can be researched analytically and comparatively, using capital as providing differing skills, dispositions, social

networks, financial resources; therefore, different social, cultural and economic capital. Understanding why people emigrate involves drawing a conclusion based on an action that the person cannot fully explain, they commit to a process based on their reasonable choice (Bourdieu 1990:10). We gain our habitus in the same manner that we gain language, we do not normally reflect on the process and we cannot fully explain why we make the grammatical choices that we do. They just seem to fit any given situation better than another. Further, it can be argued that people within the same societies will make different language choices, depending on region and class; why say 'pardon' instead of 'sorry' or vice versa? I can remember, aged 17, asking a middle-class private school boy why he said 'Sorry' instead of 'Pardon' when he wanted me to repeat something. 'Oh' he said, 'Sorry? Is short for: I'm sorry I didn't quite catch that.' From then on I mimicked the style, but it felt awkward and did not fit into my surroundings most of the time. It is, however, rare that we make conscious choices in languages, and Bourdieu (1990) uses this language analogy to explain reasonable choice by referring to Chomsky's generative grammar. Bourdieu therefore explains habitus by using a reference to this gaining of language and the form of unconscious use of it, writing that:

Action is not the mere carrying out of a rule, or obedience to a rule. Social agents, in archaic societies as well as in ours, are not automata regulated like clocks, in accordance with laws which they do not understand. In the most complex games, matrimonial exchange for instance, or ritual practices, they put into action the incorporated principles of a generative habitus: this system of dispositions can be imagined by analogy with Chomsky's generative grammar – with this difference: I am talking about

dispositions acquired through experience, thus variable from place to place and time to time. This 'feel for the game', as we call it, is what enables an infinite number of 'moves' to be made, adapted to the infinite number of possible situations which no rule, however complex, can foresee. (Bourdieu 1990:9)

Therefore, as is demonstrated also in the discussion on capital below, habitus is accumulative. This approach is important for this thesis, as it attempts to overcome the problems of understanding a social actor's place in the world as being at once influenced by structures around them but as also being part of the process of social recreation. Hence, avoiding any structure/agency antagonistic dualism, whilst acknowledging both in a symbiotic relationship. Overcoming this dualism is achieved through redefining the deterministic nature of social structures, like class. For instance, not understanding class as fixed, static and as part of an economic system that drives history, but as flexible. It exists externally to an individual but also within them. However, it is not heuristically possible to demonstrate class, but rather just its consequences. Bourdieu (1986) overcomes this through the use of habitus, placing people within their social context (field) to gain an understanding of how it influences them in their development of capital, and importantly, how they operate within different fields and makes (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) within them. Therefore, as Friedman and Laurison (2020) demonstrate, people with different capitals do better in different fields. This consideration of the importance of overcoming subject-object dualism is provided in another form by Williams and May (1996:102) who demonstrate in their critical analysis of the form of pragmatism provided by Charles Peirce (1839-1914):

Peirce's position is a rejection of the subject-object dichotomy and of an epistemology based solely on reason, or solely on experience. Although we do rely on our senses for an apprehension of the world, we are also creatures of habit who live in communities. To this extent, we need to adapt to the world, but at the same time produce meanings that orientates our conduct towards the world. (Williams and May 1996:102)

Bourdieu'sian philosophy of practice can be argued to mirror this pragmatic attempt to overcome problems of structure and agency. As Emirbayer *et al.* (2005:472) posit, Bourdieu's approach 'which he [Bourdieu] himself acknowledges, (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 122), bears strikingly close affinities to pragmatism'. As Bourdieu (1994:13) describes, he wanted to, 'take back from idealism the "active side" of practical knowledge which the material tradition, notably with the theory of "reflection", had abandoned to it'. Bourdieu aimed to understand all dimensions of a social field. Further, Bourdieu (*ibid*) argues that empirical data is important, however, theory is an essential part of the research process. Habitus provides a way to place empirical data and its providers, within social and historical settings.

The essence of habitus is its attempt as a concept to understand people's attitudes and dispositions. As Moore (2012:103) states:

Unlike objectified and embodied capital, habitus does not have a material existence.... It is insubstantial in the sense that the rules of chess or

grammar cannot be found anywhere in the world in material form but are known only through their realization in practice.

Therefore, habitus is understandable as the formulations of attitudes and dispositions within a person. These are gained overtime from experiences gained from the place in which a person is (see below 2.5). Habitus is the embodiment of capital, it is not fixed but, to use an important phrase of Wacquant's (1995:67), forms a 'recursive relation'. The processes of gaining habitus remain, no matter where a person is.

This means that we need to always situate habitus within specific social fields and how these are sustained over time. As Murphy and Costa (2015:7) elaborate:

Habitus encapsulates social action through dispositions and can be broadly explained as the evolving process through which individuals act, think, perceive and approach the world and their role in it. Habitus denotes a way of being.

Murphy and Costa's notion of habitus being an 'evolving process' is important, as fields are not static. Habitus therefore reflects the dispositions of people within a field, their 'tastes and distastes, sympathies and aversions, fantasies and phobias, which more than declared opinions' (Bourdieu, 1979:77) and provides an understanding of hierarchies in a field.

Habitus forges class and is forged by class, it, 'forges the unconscious unity of a class.' (1979:77). A class cannot be static but informed over time within fields of experiences and these in turn, inform dispositions. Habitus is therefore the dispositions that produce and are produced by capital that has been accumulated over time. It is an essential concept of field theory and explains how people 'function on a practical level' (Bourdieu, 1990:12) through

applying reason based on their experiences, and how this application can differ depending on the class of the person.

Friedman and Savage's (2018) analysis of the applicability of Bourdieusian concepts to social mobility considers movement between classes over time, intergenerationally. One aspect of interest to my thesis is their reflection on Bergson (1913):

Bergson argues that duration should be conceived as a 'force' in which past energies and intensities operate to secure future states, with the result that it is problematic to separate them out spatially (Friedman and Savage, 2018:71)

Bergson (1913) provides a philosophical reflection on the nature and form of number in time and how we can understand its influences. Importantly for my thesis, Bergson (1913) extends this to an argument about the resonance of spatial influences over time on the consciousness. This is tied to Friedman and Savage (2018) reference to 'force' above. The spatiality of time is described by Bergson as not material or fixed. Bergson (1913) demonstrates this lack of materiality by describing the empty or silent spaces between the ringing of a bell as being anticipated by the senses in the same fashion as the actual bell ringing. This is one of the points that Bergson (1913) is making on the impossibility of separating out time and its effects separately. That time is a force, not a material structure, is Bergson's (1913) argument, hence providing an understanding of how 'externalities' (for instance, fields) are not structurally fixed and determined. Bergson (1913) develops this further by describing how, if a consciousness is placed in time at separate points, when it is brought together again it would resemble a multiplicity of consciousnesses. But that is not how consciousnesses are; people's consciousnesses contain an accumulation of experiences

gathered over time and these experiences, to use Bourdieu's phrase, form their habitus. It is possible to suggest the limited influence of Bergson's pragmatic philosophy (1913) on Bourdieu's reasoning:

The social world is accumulated history, and if it is not to be reduced to a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles, one must reintroduce into it the notion of capital and with it, accumulation and all its effects. (Bourdieu, 1986:241)

Thus, Bergson (1913) and Bourdieu both argue that it is not possible to separate out time and its effects separately.

It is, therefore, as Friedman and Savage (2018) indicate, problematic to understand time as having a linear effect. Instead, time as a force has a continuous influence. The effects of totalitarianism in Latvia (1942-1953), for instance, would have a resonance for as long as those whose consciousnesses were directly affected continue to exist, and for as long as those they have touched also exist. Thus understood, habitus is not an aggregate of conscious states, it is more than a combination or a mixture. The phrase that best describes Bergson's (1913) understanding of consciousness is as an endless *mélange* of experiences formulated spatially and temporarily created by, and creating, a driving force. Leading us to make choices based on who we are, as opposed to rational selections that rest on specific time and place. As Bergson (1913:109) states about consciousness, 'Thus understood free will is exceptional'. This use of the term 'exceptional' is important, the essence of Bergson's (1913) argument is reflected by Bourdieu and Wacquant who state:

Times of crisis, in which the routine adjustment of subjective and objective structures is brutally disrupted, constitute a class of circumstances when indeed “rational choice” may take over, at least among those agents *who are in a position to be rational*. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:131) [my emphasis].

The agents who will be able to make a choice in a situation of crises will be those with the (exceptional) capital to do so, otherwise, they will make reasonable selections based on what they, given their habitus, perceive to be possible. This phrase of Bourdieu’s (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:131) must be understood in its full context. Prior to this statement, Bourdieu describes how, when habitus and field directly coincide, for instance, when a pre-capitalist group of farm labourers work on the land in a pre-capitalist society, the effect of habitus is ‘redundant with the effect of the field’ (1992:129). There is no conflict between habitus and field. Therefore, when habitus and field fit, it is not easy to see or understand its importance. However, examining a situation in which habitus and field are in sync is still useful, because, as Bourdieu and Wacquant argue:

In such a case, the notion can seem less indispensable, but it still has the virtue of pushing aside interpretations in terms of “rational choice” that the “reasonable” character of the situation seems to warrant. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:129)

Therefore, the importance of habitus is that it accounts for the reasonable choices people make based on their experiences and circumstances. This accounts for the decisions people make, why a person might choose to become a car mechanic even though they have the intelligence to become a great engineer. The rational choice would be to become an



engineer, however, this might not be the reasonable choice that the person can make based on their habitus. As Bourdieu argues, if a person does as is expected from their class, this is not a notable event. A further example would be that it is not a for a person who has only ever lived in a working-class fishing village to move to a large town to go to university, it is not a comfortable or easy decision to make; it could, however, be the rational choice, as the person could better access a good career if they make the decision to move. Experience and circumstances are key here, and this is what Bourdieu (1992: 131) means by: 'those people who are in a position to be rational', as many people will not be, for instance, during crises situations most people are not able to be rational. They can only do what is reasonable to them, for instance, staying even though there is a war, because that is the only field/place they know. However, the use of digital technology could open new fields and the possibility to make choices, and this is discussed in section 2.7. Bourdieu argues that people generally understand their circumstances and the choices they can make to deal with them fit their habitus. This idea is illustrated by Willis (1977) in his observations of working-class 'lads', the lads have no delusions; they, if not their teachers, know that they will get working-class jobs. As Bourdieu (1992:130) illustrates, people know the future 'that fits them, which is made for them and for which they are made'. On first reading, this sounds deterministic, however, it is merely saying that a combination of experiences over time and place, coupled with access to economic, social and cultural capital, frames a person's ability to perceive their options. When crises occur, there is a disturbance in the field and there will be a disjuncture between habitus and field, they will no longer be in 'sync'. This then, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1998) indicate (above in this paragraph), is when habitus, or the lack of it, becomes apparent.

It is therefore only, as Bourdieu and Wacquant demonstrate, when there is a 'discrepancy between habitus and field' (1992:130) that it is possible to understand habitus 'and its specific inertia, its hysteresis'. This lack of fit can leave those who have more established habitus, capital embedded in a field, less able to make reasonable choices to change, as Bourdieu and Wacquant put it:

in a manner of those older people of whom we may justly say that they are "out of sync." In short, the ongoing dialectic of subjective hopes and objective chances, which is at work throughout the social world, can yield a variety of outcomes ranging for perfect mutual fit (when people come to desire that to which they are objectively destined) to radical disjunction (as with the Don Quixote effect dear to Marx). (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:130)

Here Bourdieu and Wacquant indicate that those more embedded in their field might find it harder to make reasonable choices based on their habitus if the field in which their habitus fits has changed radically. Empirical data that supports this observation is provided by Hazans (2019) who demonstrates that it is younger workers who are enabled to make the decision to emigrate. Through the employment of their habitus, they can be able to 'be rational', (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:131), this means to have the economic, social and cultural capital to emigrate. Further, given that capital is accumulative, choice will rest on the accumulation of influences. This is demonstrated by Bourdieu (1986) in his appraisal of the embodied state of cultural capital:

Cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate

inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously. It always remains marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition which, through the more or less visible marks they leave (such as the pronunciations characteristic of a class or region), help to determine its distinctive value. (Bourdieu 1986:245)

Therefore, any choice will rest on experiences and accumulative capital. In times of crisis, like, for instance, the war in Ukraine (ongoing at the time of writing), there will be those who can make the decision to move from an area and those whose reasoning does not support movement. When faced with a situation in which their habitus is out of sync, they will struggle to make a reasonable choice. The important observation for my thesis is that those who are able to make a to move, have accumulated capital to do so, or are from families with accumulated capital, and for whom, in the words of Hazans (2019) as he describes a different scenario in Latvia, it has become too risky to stay. When Bourdieu (1992) indicates that rational choice exists, 'in so far as it is possible', it is only possible to the extent of a person's accumulated capital and life experiences. This is also provided visually daily on the television and in print news, in images showing those who have remained in villages and towns in the Ukraine, who appear to be older people whose habitus is more deeply entrenched in the Ukrainian field.

## **2.5 Field**

Intersections between given and received statuses are understood as being negotiated over time and as responsive to field. Fields are the social context in which people operate and as stated above, these are hierarchical in nature. Different fields, or socio-economic situations, affect habitus, for instance, Latvian movement to the UK can only be understood since 2004

within the context of the EU, austerity and recession and must incorporate, further, the shadow of Soviet occupation. Latvian's habitus, their dispositions, will be influenced by historic as well as recent events within their homeland. Bourdieu (2000:138-139) explains how people's dispositions might appear to be *'innate'*, but they are in fact a reflection of their environment. Therefore, it is not possible to understand field without using habitus.

Migration between states offers an opportunity to study people moving from one social context, economic and political field to another and, hence, an opportunity to study how people adapt to different fields. As Murphy and Costa (2015:8) posit, it is: 'in the presence of 'alien' environments that individuals' habitus become easily identified or deliberately silenced'. Here Murphy and Costa develop Bourdieu's (1986:725) idea that the field provides an idea of: 'compatibilities and incompatibilities, proximities and distances.'

## **2.6 The Problem with Fields**

As Thomson (2014:77) illustrates, the borders of fields are not distinct, they are 'fuzzy and contested'. Thomson (2014) signals that this is something that Bourdieu was aware of, however, Bourdieu was writing mainly before the increased use of, and access to, digital technology. The borders between fields have become even more indistinct, for example, in terms of cultural capital, the terms of reference, ways of being, knowledge and even expected bearing and clothing of actors in different fields can be referenced online. The mass of potential cultural capital online could be argued to be so much that it overrides the niche cultural value that capital once offered. Savage (2021:63) suggests that, 'the divide between "high" and "popular" culture appears to have diminished.' However, it is not necessary to make a conscious decision to reflect the doxa and nomos of a field, the

internet offers and normalises access to lifestyles. Further, as Savage (2021) argues, 'cultural value is ... commercialised, and by being rendered for its exchange value, loses its distinctive artistic quality.' (2021:63). Savage is identifying the lack of value associated with commercialised cultural capital, where it would lose the distinctiveness which distinguishes it as a respected and cherished cultural attribute. This blurring of the lines between fields is argued by Thomson (2012) to be difficult for research purposes. For instance, she argues, a line could not be drawn around a field such as education as this could mean anything from informal education to staff development to, HE.

A further issue that Thomson (2012:77) identifies with the use of fields is their potential number. She argues that there are 'four semi-autonomous levels: the field of power, the broad field under consideration, the specific field, and agents in the field themselves.'

Clearly there are problems in knowing where the line should be drawn in terms of a field under consideration. Further, this has been contextualised to how countries in the EU were affected and specifically how the Latvian participants were affected. However, fields can go on forever, as there are several different aspects that could be investigated. In this thesis, the field has reflected the initial empirical data and has been extended to incorporate digital technology in terms of the participants' migration.

Another issue with the use of fields is that they change. As Savage (2021:63) states, 'Addressing trends over time tends to abstract from spatial relations, and Bourdieu's map of the French "space of lifestyles" is frozen in a particular moment in history.' This means that special attention needs to be paid to the temporal aspects of a field. Bourdieu (1986, 1998) does not argue that field is static, however, the example of what constitutes cultural capital in a field, is dated to time and place. The spatial and temporal aspects of fields could be

argued to be even more greatly subject to change because of digital technology. Further, in terms of the legacies of habitus and a major shift in the social field, Bourdieu does not provide a frame from which to operate. Thomson (2012:78) offers the criticism: 'Bourdieu is unequivocal that some fields are dominant and others subordinate, but it is not necessarily clear how this domination is materially enacted.' It is also not clear how radical changes within a field can occur, create crises and the consequences that these will have on people. These need to be understood and reflected upon.

The final criticism of the use of field (Thomson 2012, Savage 2020) is that they are evaluated in terms of conflict. As Savage (2021:63) states this is, 'reductive, because it does not adequately recognise the cooperative principles that are also essential for field relations.' It is important to be aware of these potential problems. In this PhD thesis, fields are not considered only in terms of conflict and there is focus on the positive co-operations that are necessary to aid migration.

## **2.7 Digitally Enhanced Migration Capital**

In this section, there is an analysis of the literature that can be used to understand the use of digital technology as capital on migration journeys. The use of digital technology changes in conjunction with new technological advances. Therefore, it is continuously developing and as such operates as emergent cultural capital for its users. In his understanding of the transnational dimensions of networks, Portes (1993) states that it is now necessary to consider how these networks are predicated on technological advances that include mobile phones and social media. Portes demonstrates that transnational communities are not a new phenomenon (Portes, 1993), however, their temporality and impact are now linked to

the immediacy of mobile communication. Portes (1999:217) notes there are: 'a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders'. Given this observation, according to Portes it would be impossible to now understand contemporary migrant networks outside of the increased circulation of information and social support achieved through mobile communication.

Digital capital will rest on access, ability, use and furthermore, on the desire to use it. In his discussion of emerging cultural capital, Savage (2021: 264) describes how understandings of the constituents of cultural capital have developed, for instance, as he states:

A dominant theme (for example, Bennett et al 2009; Prieur and Savage 2011; 2013; Hanquinet et al 2014; Friedman et al 2015) was the gap between older age groups who were more attracted to canonical activities (such as veneration of classical music; highbrow theater; and the orthodox visual arts, including portraits and landscape painting), and younger well-educated groups, who appreciated more commercial and contemporary forms of culture (such as popular music, sport, information technology). These younger individuals were less drawn to the 'hallowed halls of culture' as institutionalized in galleries and museums.

This is important to my thesis as it can be used to develop the argument that the practical application and knowledge of digital technology for Eastern European migrants supports their migration journeys. Furthermore, this use of digital technology could be linked to the digital capital of the participant. It is a form of emerging cultural capital that needs further investigation. Savage (2021: 264) continues his discussion on how cultural capital is valued:

This new modality has been identified as 'emerging cultural capital' (Priour and Savage 2013; Savage et al 2015; Friedman et al 2015) which is more oriented toward technical expertise and knowhow, in which scientific and technical expertise plays a more important role than expertise in the humanities.

This concept of emergent cultural capital is useful in supporting any understanding of how migrants have skills and job specific cultural capital that they can carry to a new field. In effect, fields are no longer as bounded as they were in the past. For instance, specialist fields are accessible using digital technologies, and the idea of a bounded nation state becomes unbound as information and communication are increasingly borderless.

This consideration raises questions about how digital technology could create a discrepancy between habitus and field. Savage (2021) suggests that care needs to be taken with the analysis and acceptance that people have an increasing potential to enhance aspects of cultural capital through the use of digital technology. This is because the use of digital technology can have surprising results, for instance, in discussing people's ability to understand fields and to access capital through the use of digital technology, Savage raises the question of the often taken for granted acceptance of the permanence and influence of nation fields. Fields, certainly in terms of nation states, are less determined because of digital technology; 'nation spaces had come to be seen as normal and permanent' (2021:253) but 'now appear fragile'. Therefore, the spatial and temporal acquisition of cultural capital is argued by Savage to need a consideration of any digital technology use. Further, an important 'take home' from reading Savage's (2021) argument on technology, is that technology can be understood as informing, potentially even reinforcing, part of



people's historical legacy, and that 'the contingency of the present' does not 'shatter the hold of the past'. (2021:255).

Costa and Murphy (2015) provide a case study that demonstrates how academics' use of digital technology affects their habitus, suggesting 'Their participation in online knowledge networks encourages them to adopt a culture of sharing and networking that informs and influences their scholarly activity'. (2015:153). The idea that habitus can be influenced through digital technology is useful for my study, as this reasoning can simply be extended to any group's use of technology. This finding demonstrates a potential for understanding that habitus, the accumulated capital that is spatially and temporarily specific to people, will vary depending on access to digital technology. Costa and Murphy's (2015) findings contradict Putnam's (2000) argument that social media use leads to a decrease in social capital. Putnam (2000) observes that there is less participation, for instance, on local school boards and in clubs, and that the internet has led to less social capital. Consequently, Putnam (2000) does not consider changes in how social capital can be gained using social media; Putnam understands internet use to be a destroyer of social capital. However, as Costa and Murphy (2015) demonstrate, digital technology can enhance cultural and social capital. Arguably, therefore, it is reasonable to extend Murphy and Costa's (2015) reasoning to consider how digital technology could provide scaffolding for people's relationships if they move between spaces, whether in terms of class mobility or physical mobility as they discovered that the use of digital technology is found to build capital for one group.

However, arguably, access to digital technology will vary depending on a person's economic, cultural and social capital, and therefore, differences in habitus. This is an important consideration and is missed by Costa and Murphy (2015), Putnam (1993, 2000), Brehm and

Rahn (1997) Coleman (1988). This issue occurs in Putnam's (1993, 2000) case as he only analyses social capital, and does not treat social capital as being intertwined with, and reliant upon, other forms of capital. Other researchers who use the concept of social capital in a way more attuned to Bourdieu's (1986) and Savage's (2015) with a link to class, also do not underline or understand as important the intertwining nature of the three main aspects of capital (Boxman et al., 1991; Goulbourne et al., 2010; Portes, 1998).

Keles (2015) argues that the internet can enhance cultural and social capital for migrants. Further, Keles elaborates on how digital technology provides virtual communities that support networking for migrants. Digital technology can therefore reinforce a sense of belonging, and as Keles notes (*ibid*) whilst referring to Nagel and Staehel (2010), the internet changes people's interactions and their relationships, removing distance and time differences. The ability of digital technology to connect people provides the potential for reinforcing political identity, as Keles (2015: 105) states, the internet:

has connected people from different political and geographical spaces and created virtual conversations (Parham, 2004; Tynes, 2007) which has led to the emergence of new and virtual social networks (virtual public spaces).

Hence, it can be said that digital technologies aid capital through the development and reinforcement of identity networks after migration.

In terms of migrant network building and the use of digital media, Keles (2015) shows how there has been much focus on physical places, public and private, and not enough on virtual spaces. Using data from a case study of 25 Kurdish migrants to London and another study of Iraqi-Kurdish migrants to the UK plus interviews with representatives of Kurdish

organisations, Keles demonstrates the importance of digital technology to migrants. Keles's concentration on these diasporic groups develops his argument that any 'sense of belonging, social connectedness, mutual benefits and strengthening social ties have been interpreted narrowly' (2015:103). This is due, Keles argues, to a lack of consideration of Internet use to support and sustain migrant networks.

The use of digital technology in maintaining social capital has been the focus of Brown (2016). In a case study of migration to Israel, Brown describes how David, an immigrant nurse, uses the Internet daily to reinforce his networks of support. Further, the Internet is argued by Baldassar (2016:153) as providing a 'virtual co-presence' which is formatted on or over several media, such as video, telephone, Skype, Facebook or Twitter. This 'virtual co-presence' is argued by Baldassar (2016) as needing further investigation, as different applications vary in their degree of immediacy, for instance, Skype and Snapchat can both provide images and audio, but there is a delay with Snapchat and this lack of instant connectivity and fluid interaction needs further consideration. This use of digital capital raises the question of the type and form of social capital gained. The idea of a virtual co-presence for migrants with those they have left behind provides a basis for investigation into how digital technology can support social and cultural capital in migration journeys.

Further, Keles (2015:105) provides the term 'network capital' and draws on Larsen and Urry (2008) to define this as 'capacity to engender and sustain social relations with individuals who are not necessarily proximate, which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit' (Larsen and Urry, 2008: 93). Furthering this idea to focus on migrants' journeys and their use of digital technology vis-à-vis social, cultural, economic and social capital and their

development of habitus in their migration journeys is a straightforward step. This use would provide a reflection on a digitally enhanced migration.

## **2.8 Crises**

An important concept for this PhD is that of crises. Crises are established as part of the Latvian field that the participants could not use their capital to deal with and remain in their home country. Further, crises continue to affect the participants in contemporary UK.

Scileppa, Teed and Torres (2000:87) observe that overly taxing, unusual occurrences can push people beyond their normal ability to function, resulting in a crisis for the person. In Chapter 8, these findings are explored further vis-à-vis the participants' reflections on Brexit and COVID-19. In Chapter 5, crisis occurrences are considered in relation to loss. The ability to deal with such occurrences are, as Levine and Perkins (1997) demonstrate, reflective of a person's capital and social network. As Walby (2015) illustrates, some forms of crisis, for example financial recession, may impact everyone within a society at once. In my thesis there is an examination of crises potentially differing in their effect depending on capital. Hence, both societal factors and crises of personal loss are examined here as: 'social concomitants' (Durkheim 1951:104). Applying a Bourdieusian approach, a person's capital accumulated overtime, will determine how they deal with field situations. Hence, one's community (social capital), personal confidence (cultural capital) and financial situation (economic capital) all contribute to the choice a person makes when faced with a crisis. A lesser opportunity to accumulate capital will present a decreased amount of capital when faced with crises.

In Chapter 3 below, there is an exploration of the Latvian Field and how this developed during the twentieth century.

## **Chapter 3 The Latvian Field**

### **Introduction**

Shaking off the skin worn under one regime may seem easy but the mentality and habits inculcated by the past can turn out to have entered the bones against our will. (Almond and Stone, 2016:5)

In this chapter, I consider events in twentieth-century Latvia that have significantly impacted the Latvian field and Latvians' abilities to accumulate capital. Drawing on the Bourdieusian theory of habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1986; discussed in Chapter 2), I argue that people have differing levels of capital depending on the field into which they are born; that they acquire capital, as evidenced through their habitus, as a legacy from their parents and their parents' field of birth and socialisation. This moves the understanding of field influence beyond a temporal and spatial particular, to ideas of accumulation and duration (Bergson, 1889) beyond the lifetime of the individual to include that of their grandparents and parents. This is because field doxa can be understood as gained at the knee of one's parents and grandparents. The form and type of capital gained continues to have resonance.

I therefore expand the focus on the acquisition of capital and the subsequent development of habitus beyond the lifetime of the individual to incorporate the accumulation of social, political and economic history of the field in which they are born and their kin lived their formative years. These 'echoes' are impactful through doxa and structures within the field; for instance, from religious and imperial symbols and imperial institutions, from which customs and traditions might be derived.

To understand the migration of Latvians from Latvia to the UK, it is necessary to consider the field in the past, to see that it conditions the current habitus. The methods to achieve this understanding are discussed in Chapter 4. In this chapter, there is a reflection on the history of the Latvian field as the provider of antecedent thought and understanding, as well as having practical implications for capital accumulation and subsequent habitus.

In Section 3.1, there is a general discussion of the consequences of totalitarianism on capital accumulation in Latvia. In section 3.2, the consequences of totalitarianism on habitus and capital are illustrated through the focus on the annihilation of Latvian Jews and their contribution to Latvian culture. In section 3.3, I discuss the changes that began to occur in Latvia in the 1980s. In section 3.4, the accumulation of changes that took place after 1992 are discussed vis-à-vis social, economic and cultural capital. The move from a Soviet-occupied society to a neoliberal one is considered in terms of capital legacy.

### **3.1 The consequences of totalitarianism on field development, capital and habitus.**

Life in totalitarian regimes can lead to the limited accumulation of certain kinds of capital (Bourdieu, 1998) and because totalitarian occupation is of the mind as well as the body (Arendt, 2017), it restricts the expression of habitus and acquisition of cultural, economic and social capital. In Latvia, major capital restricting events during the course of the twentieth century have included colonisation by two totalitarian regimes, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, both leading to a lack of accumulation of capital in totalitarian circumstances. There was a Soviet occupation from 1940 to 1941, a Nazi occupation from 1941 – 1943 and the Soviet return after 1943. During these periods, the systematic destruction of a multitude of different cultural influences in Latvia was undertaken; most notably the decimation of the Jewish population, who had been major contributors to cultural life (Vesterman, 1991; Krastiņš, 2006), their number being 43,672, 11.3% of the Latvian capital Riga's population in 1935, with just 150 having survived by 1944 (Vesterman, 1991).

To enforce total ideological control the destruction of competing classes, cultures and political ideologies is necessary, and the instigation of one ideology that surmounts all others is gained via processes in civil society (Arendt, 2017; Bauman, 1989). This annihilation of difference occurs through the application of terror. This leads to a situation in which aspects of capital accumulation, for instance, social, cultural and economic, become unavailable (Bourdieu, 1998). Therefore, in Bourdieusian terms, a person's habitus no longer develops through the acquisition and reinforcement of cultural, social and economic capital. This occurred in Soviet colonised Latvia (Aasland and Fløtten, 2001). Furthermore, after the Communist occupation of Latvia in the years following 1992, there was no straightforward



return to a situation in which it was possible to regain the social framework where Latvians could become encultured in traditional, pre-terror culture in terms of cultural, economic and social capital (Aasland and Fløtten, 2001). Almond and Stone (2016) explain how after the change of regime in Latvia, there was no quick corresponding change in Latvian society. The legacy of occupation lived on in the people who grew up in it; those people and their now grown children form my research cohort. Moreover, most of the research cohort (discussed in Chapter 4) were born during the years of occupation, therefore, before 1992, thus they also experienced colonisation. Furthermore, although Soviet control stopped officially in 1992, the removal of Russian troops took years longer. Also, those in senior administrative roles during the occupation remained in control:

As elsewhere in ex-Communist Europe, history did not end for the Baltic Republics with the collapse of the one-party system. The restoration of national independence after fifty years of Soviet rule was not a fairy tale. People did not live happily ever after, nor did the Baltic States return to the situation that existed before 1939. We are all children of the past but are especially shaped by the recent past. In addition to our conscious sentiments and attitudes to the regime of our youth, there is the unconscious influence of growing up under a system which might be declared dead and gone but whose ghosts live on, clinging to us. (Almond and Stone, 2016:5)

People who have lived in a totalitarian regime, therefore, have a legacy of habitus gained during that time, and this habitus is defined by a lack of accumulated cultural, economic and social capital. In their formative years, they could not access the cultural signs and symbols of their different communities and classes. In Soviet occupation there was an asserted effort to destroy class and cultural differences. They and their families could not

accumulate capital, and it was not possible to trust people (Almond and Stone, 2016) and build social capital. In terms of social capital, as demonstrated in Fig.1 below, evidence of neighbours informing on each other exists in the 'Corner House' KGB Museum.

Fig.1 shows copies of the cards with the names of Latvian collaborators that were abandoned by the Soviets in the 'Corner House' KGB (Soviet secret police headquarters in Riga).



Photograph by Lyndsey Kramer, Riga, 2022.

As Zake (2010) illustrates, there has been political and academic debate around the release and use of the informant evidence pictured (the example in Fig.1), as there is a fear that politicians could use such information against their political opponents and other Latvian officials. Zake thus demonstrates how people who worked in the Latvian Soviet regime continue to work in the new Latvian state.

The fear of neighbours informing was further grounded in the resulting terror visited on the victims of the Soviets; Fig. 2 is a photograph of bullet holes that were found in the wall of an outbuilding of the Corner House KGB building.

Fig.2 Photographs illustrating bullet holes.





Photographs by Lyndsey Kramer, Riga, 2022.

In the corner of the first photograph in Fig.2, it is possible to see a small sinkhole or drain.

The museum guide described that the bullet holes were discovered under a shoddy makeshift wall after the drain system was excavated and unblocked. Hundreds of rounds of spent ammunition and human remains were discovered in the drain, which led back to the sinkhole in the room illustrated above.

The campaigns of fear were extensive in Latvia. In Fig.3 below the photograph shows some of those known to have been murdered in Riga.

Fig.3 Photograph of Soviet murder victims killed in Riga, Latvia.



Photograph by Lyndsey Kramer, Riga, the Corner House, KGB Museum, 2022.

To understand that level of destruction of capital and its subsequent effect on habitus, it is necessary to reflect on how totalitarian regimes work. Every aspect of the daily lives of Latvians was controlled by the Soviets. Hence, even if Latvians living in totalitarian Latvia had a legacy of cultural habitus from before colonisation, the ideological control during 1940 - 1992 they experienced did not allow them to express it. This situation was achieved through the enforcement of one ideology over others, through the structures of civil society (Bauman, 1989). Therefore, totalitarianism is achieved through the civilization process. Control is maintained through tightly restricted, or no, access to 'normal' forms of capital. An example is language, for instance, because the colonising Soviets enforced the use of Russian as the lingua franca, the main language of political rule and civil society. Although Latvian was still used in schools, studying Russian was mandatory at all levels (Hazans 2019).

The Holocaust is an example of the ultimate form of cultural destruction through totalitarianism and is, as Freeman (1995) illustrates in his analysis of Bauman (1989) the manifestation of part of civilization. It is important, therefore, to reflect on how capital and habitus are controlled through structures in the field, past and present and which continue into the future. For Bauman (1989), sociological approaches to understanding ideological control have often rested on an understanding of the civilization process as positive, as controlling anti-social behaviour, desires and removing violence from civil society. However, civilising social control is a form of ideological control, and such control can lead to totalitarianism, especially if enforced through the systematic annihilation of different cultural influences, for instance, classes, ethnicities, and religions. The ultimate annihilation of capital is genocide. Freeman (1995) described Bauman's approach as follows:

The most important lesson of the Holocaust, Bauman argues, is that its perpetrators were civilised. It is not the Holocaust that is difficult to understand. Rather, it is our western civilization which the Holocaust makes it difficult to understand. When the leaders of modern state bureaucracies bear grand designs and are emancipated from social constraints, we have the recipe for genocide. (Freeman 1995:208)

The results of this annihilation are various, including depopulation and no acceptance of cultural, social or economic capital or expressions of individualism through different habits. The impacts are not confined to one time and place, even though they are truly understandable only from the perspective of that time and place (Bergson, 1889). The effects of totalitarianism resound over time like the resonance of a bell.

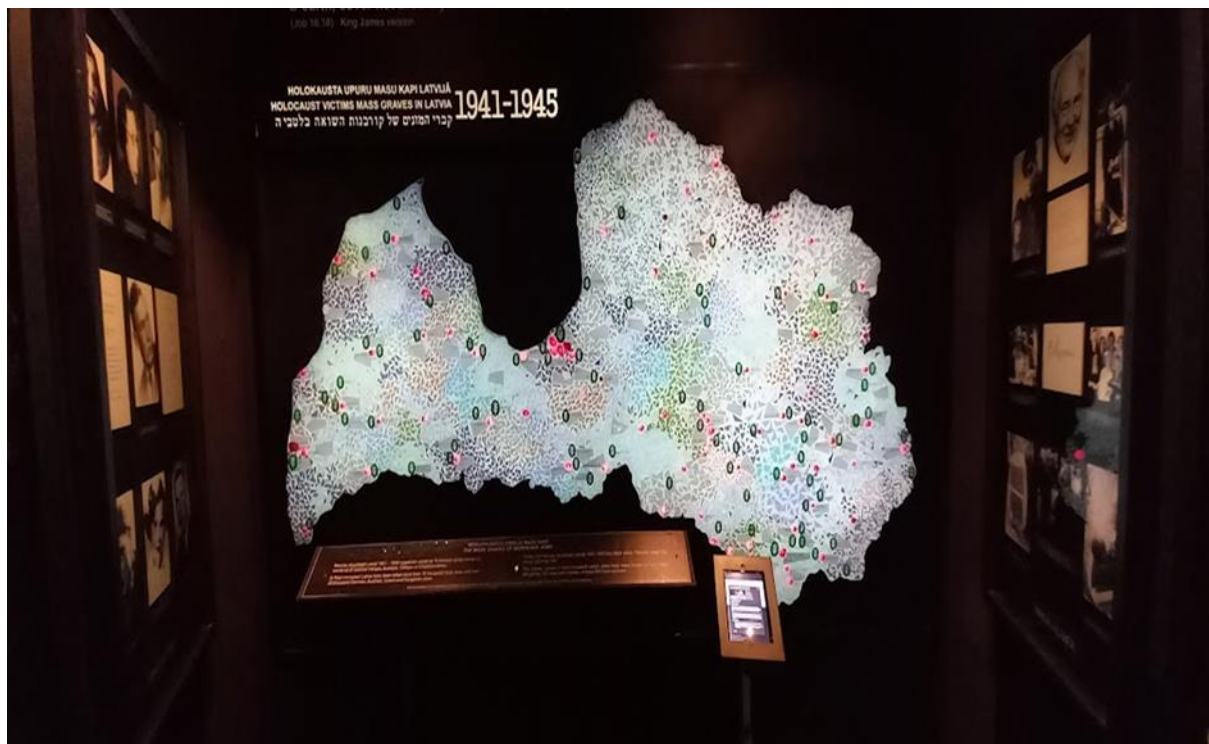
### **3.2 Using the annihilation of one cultural group to illustrate the effects on cultural capital within Latvian society.**

The effects of the systematic destruction of cultural, economic and social capital are well illustrated by focusing on one of the different cultural groups that existed in Latvia before totalitarianism. The Jewish population of Latvia is chosen here, as its culture, economy and society were destroyed, and, therefore, in terms of cultural, economic and social capital, it represents an unprecedented illustration of how total the removal of capital and ultimately habitus gained contemporarily can be. The annihilation of the Jewish population of Latvia illustrates how the destruction of cultural capital has resounding effects over time (Hazans 2019).



Firstly, through the machinery of civil society, there was an obliteration of Jewish sites, especially those that had grown to support cultural and social differences. For instance, those of cultural significance at every level, from synagogues, to cemeteries, schools, polytechnics, shops, bakeries, Kosher butchers, hospitals, restaurants and inns (Vesterman, 1991). Fig.4 below is a photograph taken in the Museum of Jewish Life in Riga; the green dots show the main sites of mass graves of Jews in Latvia. This demonstrates the genocidal destruction of a people; however, it is only one aspect of cultural annihilation.

Fig.4 map of Latvia. The green dots represent the main sites of mass graves of Jews and other minorities created between 1941-1945.



A Photograph taken of a map in the Museum of Jewish Life in Latvia, Riga, by Lyndsey Kramer, December 2022.

During the Soviet occupation of 1940-1941, most Jewish cultural, political and religious leaders were sent to Soviet gulags in Siberia, where they died (Vesterman, 1991). Those Jews who survived and who returned to Latvia during the Soviet occupation of 1943-1992 'dropped out of sight' (Vesterman, 1991:5). The reason for this is that under Soviet occupation they were not able to 'unite on the basis of common Jewish national interests' (Vesterman, 1991:6). Meaning that they could not enjoy or promote the common aspects of their nationhood identity based on their Jewish Latvian cultural heritage and religion. However, the targeting of Jews and the destruction of their cultural heritage and subsequent ability to build social and economic capital was a feature of earlier, pre-WWII life in twentieth century Latvia (Levin, 2015), before Soviet and Fascist totalitarianism. Fig. 5 below shows a large middle class Latvian Jewish family in 1903.

Fig. 5 The Kramers of Riga, Photograph: The Museum of Jewish Life in Latvia, Riga, Latvia.



Fig.5. An example of a middle class Latvian Jewish family: the Latvian Kramer family in 1903. During the course of the twentieth century, Latvian Jews were subject to programs, firstly from the Russian empire in 1905, the Soviets from 1918 - 1922, who deported middle class business, cultural and political leaders, by fascists after the 1934 fascist coup in Latvia that restricted cultural capital development and retention (Levin, 1975). The Latvian Kramer family experienced deportation to Siberia, genocide and forced migration to other countries. (The Museum of Jewish Life in Latvia, Riga).

The surviving and returning Jews from Russian gulags were disparate individuals, actively prevented from expressing, retaining and developing their cultural heritage (Zisere, 2005). As Zisere identifies:

After the fascist occupation of Latvia (by then, part of the Soviet Union), approximately 92 percent of Latvian Jews were exterminated, mostly during collective executions in 1941 and 1942. After the Second World War, fifty years of communism in Latvia resulted in almost total annihilation of the Latvian Jewish

community. This phenomenon occurred as a consequence of the interdiction of any manifestation of Jewish cultural or religious expression, of Jewish education (both religious and secular schools, authorised in the independent Latvia, were forbidden), and of Jewish collective memory. (Zisere 2005:82)

Latvian Jewish identity existed within a cultural, social and economic legacy that was subject to systematic destruction. All Jewish religious and cultural sites had been destroyed with the exception of one synagogue, Peitav-Shul (Fig.6) where proximity to other buildings had meant that it could not be raised to the ground by the Nazis. Instead, the Nazis desecrated it (Vesterman, 1991).

Fig.6 Peitav-Shul Synagogue, Old Town, Riga, Latvia.



Fig.6: Photograph of Peitav-Shul Synagogue (Peitav school and synagogue Hebrew Congregation), taken by Lyndsey Kramer, 2022, Old Town, Riga, Latvia. This synagogue is the only one of five not destroyed by the Nazis. It remains in use today.

Under the Soviets Peitav-Shul synagogue regained a small congregation, however, the Jewish population and synagogue were taxed severely and their activities limited, leading to a form of forced migration (Vesterman, 1991; Zisere, 2005).

The people of Latvia were controlled through the use of terror. There was a destruction of cultural heritage under totalitarianism that affected the entire population, not only one particular culture or class, but the example of Jews also here highlights the extent of control and destruction. However, as Curtis (1979) states:

For the Soviet Union the solidarity was supposedly international in character, extending to the working class everywhere. In reality, it was achieved through the destruction of the working class as a political force, the elimination of free trade unions, and the end of internal democracy. (Curtis, 1979:50).

This situation has an effect upon the accumulation of class capital and subsequent habitus. The consideration of one aspect of Latvia's past multiculturalism is important as Latvia was a country that had attracted migrants, and hosted cultural groups, from different communities (Vesterman 1991) over hundreds of years. These communities became embedded in Latvian life to produce a superdiverse population. This focus on the destruction of capital through totalitarianism could be expanded to all Latvian people living

under totalitarianism, whether from ethnic German, Lithuanian, Polish, Jewish, Russian or Latvian communities. The Soviet, Nazi, then Soviet occupation of Latvia and the other Baltic States lasted officially until 1992. According to the description of totalitarianism and its implications (Arendt 2017), this occupation was enforced firstly through the application of totalitarianism during the period 1940 to the mid-1950s, then authoritarian dictatorship.

The history of Nazi and Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe and specifically Latvia, as illustrated in this chapter and in Chapter 8, provides a novel backdrop to the understanding of the lack of capital accumulation and how this accumulation can affect future generations. As Nollendorfs et al. (2016) state:

Three successive foreign occupations had a cumulative effect on the people and their psych. The psychological and physical terror of the two totalitarian regimes exacted a heavy human toll – it destroyed lives, it destroyed relationships; it destroyed trust. Social and ethnic structures were mercilessly torn apart. The Soviets practised class warfare, the Nazis racial cleansing (Nollendorfs et al., 2016:7).

Therefore, the combination of occupation by two totalitarian states bent on social and ideological reform through force, has created a society in Latvia that does not reflect the commonly understood perceptions of capital accumulation. Bourdieu (1998) explains this effect through his analysis of the Soviet occupation of East Germany (German Democratic People's Republic - GDR) and the type and form of capital that he argues can be obtained from such a field. Bourdieu illustrates how, in Soviet occupied Eastern Germany, there was not the opportunity to acquire economic, social and cultural capital. Cultural, economic and social capitals form the core of class (Savage, 2015), thus extinguishing the opportunity to

accumulate capital resulted in the annihilation of the previous class system. The systematic destruction of cultural groups and class structures in Latvia meant that many people, particularly ethnic minorities and middle-class people before independence in 1920, during the Soviet occupation of 1940-1941 and latterly, the Soviet/Russian occupation of 1944–1991, were murdered or arrested and sent to gulag hard labour camps in Siberia, from which, as Nollendorfs et al. (2016) evidence, many did not return.

### **3.3 The Latvian Field from the 1980s.**

During the 1980s and the Gorbachev era of Soviet control, dissidents in Latvia concentrated on human rights issues to campaign for freedom (Almond and Stone 2016). They demanded a return to the First Republic, re-establishment of the 1922 constitution and a reversal of what they called “colonisation”. (ibid.:134). Hazans (2019) illustrates how this call for a return to a past era ignores the multicultural reality of early twentieth century Latvia and the large immigration into Latvia over the twentieth century. Now the population of Latvia has a higher number of ethnic Russians. This has affected emigration and immigration and the form of social relationships. As Hazans states:

While at the start of the twenty-first century (covering the period 2000–2016) Latvia has been a country of labour emigration, in the twentieth century Latvia saw periods of economically motivated immigration, times of humanitarian catastrophes and associated outflows of refugees and displaced persons, as well as mass deportations during periods of occupation and episodes of ethnic and politically driven emigration. There was also mass immigration of labour and military personnel which



was centrally planned by the Soviet regime and, in addition, immigration of their families. (Hazans, 2019: 36 - 37)

Hence, the period leading up to the 1980s was one of immigration of Soviet influence. Even though freedom was gained in 1992, in practical terms there could be no return to the way Latvia was during the first Latvian Republic. Most of the ethnic minorities who made-up the Latvian Republic had either been annihilated physically or their culture destroyed. The Soviet influence therefore continued even after freedom was gained. Although the Latvian campaign for freedom from the USSR is often referred to as the 'Singing Revolution' (Eglitis, and Ardava, 2012; Nollendorfs et al., 2016), (Fig.7) this belies the undercurrent of fear that is evidenced in Figs 8 - 10 below. The 'Singing Revolution' refers specifically to the uniting of people in 1989, literally united through the holding of hands in a line that stretched along the borders of all three Baltic States with Russia. There they stood and sang.

Fig.7 Photograph of the Baltic Way 1989.



Published in Moteris magazine. Participants hold candles and Lithuanian flags with black ribbons to express mourning and disagreement about the situation they are living in.

Fig. 8 The entrance lobby of the Museum of the Barricades in Riga, Latvia.



Photograph by Lyndsey Kramer 2019, Riga, Latvia.

Fig. 8 shows photographs taken in the entrance lobby of the Museum of the Barricades in Riga, Latvia. The pictures on the wall of the lobby are of barricades created in the centre of Riga in 1991 in response to the potential of further invasion by the Soviet tanks.

Fig. 9 A photograph of a picture in the Museum of the Barricades depicting the manning of the barricades in Riga.



Photograph by Lyndsey Kramer, 2019, Riga, Latvia.

The population of Latvia were expecting the Soviets to try to recapture Riga. They were determined to protect the old centre of Riga and its cultural landmarks. The photograph below is of a model that shows how the barricades were set-up.

Fig.10 A model of the barricades created in central Riga to protect sites of national and cultural heritage Soviet violence.



Photograph by Lyndsey Kramer, 2019, Riga, Latvia.

After 1992, the economic, social and political structure of Latvia moved rapidly from a Soviet/Russian one to a Latvian one. However, there remained a legacy of consequences of occupation. These are described as social, cultural, economic and physical (Nollendorfs et al., 2016). For instance, where the primary administrative language used in all public offices and structures had been Russian since the beginning of the occupation in 1942, there was a move to Latvian. Therefore, those who had built their social and economic capital on their Russian language cultural capital discovered that they no longer had such a cultural advantage. This equates to 30% of the population of Latvia that had settled in the years 1942– 1992 and had Russian as their first language (Brasington, 2011). Indeed, as



Brasington, (2011) illustrates, the new stringent naturalisation laws in Latvia demanded a good knowledge of Latvian. These laws underpinned ethnic Latvian culture, as naturalisation required a native level of Latvian language skill and knowledge of Latvian history and society. However, what is of interest for the understanding of Latvian society is that access to naturalisation is less rigid for those of proven Latvian, Lithuanian or Polish pre-1940 descent; but remained rigid for the Russian community (Brasington, 2011). This is a response by the current Latvian authorities to the 'presence of potentially disruptive or disloyal immigrant groups' (Nollendorfs et al., 2016:42). The prolonged presence of Russians that were used as a colonising force by the Soviets is a continual reminder of the 'debilitating demographic changes' and 'loss of historical minorities' suffered by Latvia (Nollendorfs et al., 2016:42). This is an extension of the loss of cultural capital due to occupation-period immigrants who were sent to Latvia as part of colonial occupation by the USSR.

Other physical legacies of occupation are economic, and there has been a 'painful reorientation to a free market economy from a Soviet command-style economy' (Nollendorfs et al., 2016:43). The move to free market economics resulted in a young neoliberal economy, which relied heavily on imports facing the 2008 global economic downturn. The situation after the recession of 2008 was extremely difficult in Latvia, as Zabko et al. (2019:61-62) state: 'after the financial crisis many Latvians took up loans; entrepreneurs went bankrupt and people often needed several jobs in order to make ends meet, as well as to afford education for their children.' Latvia and other 'newly emerging' democracies that the Soviet Union had occupied became capitalist neoliberal democracies,

after 1992 (Ozoliņa-Fitzgerald, 2016). These new democracies did not do well in the decade following the adoption of neoliberal economics (Aasland and Fløtten, 2001) or in the 2007 economic downturn (Hazans, 2019). People did not have an accumulation of economic capital passed to them from previous generations that they could resort to. Further, at the national level in Latvia institutions and structures also did not have accumulated revenue. At the individual level, as Zabko et al. (2019) state, people could not afford education for their children and were unable to support them to attend college or university. Latvia struggled to maintain public sector spending and wages were lowered, and, as Hazans (2019) illustrates, there has continued to be a wage disparity between Latvia and most other EU countries that has resulted in migration from Latvia.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have traced the effects on people of the cultural, social and economic circumstances in Latvia, from 1940 to the economic crisis of 2008. During totalitarianism, it was not possible to build cultural, social or economic capital of any kind. After the mid-1950s it became possible to build political capital. Therefore, there was a lack of accumulation of capital for all those born and living in the period 1940–1992. However, Soviet occupation did not end in 1992, and there remained a presence until 1998. Further, Soviet colonialism means that 30% of the population of Latvia consists of a large Russian colonial minority (Hazans, 2019). This continues to affect cultural and social capital in Latvia.

Using totalitarianism and authoritarianism as a form of social control has implications for the accumulation of capital for those born and living in Latvia during the period 1940–1992

and further, for their children and grandchildren who grew-up in the postcolonial, post-Soviet Latvia of 1992 onwards.

Due to the limitations on the acquisition of capital in totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1998), I have considered Latvian habitus within the context of totalitarianism and authoritarianism and their aftermath as defining the broader historical social, economic and political field. This moves the understanding of field influence beyond a temporal and spatial particular. Migrants moving to a new area will carry with them cultural, social and economic capital and the dispositions that these have influenced.

The ideas of accumulation and duration (Bergson, 1889) has been extended to include the accumulation of capital and resulting habitus not just spatially (moving beyond the nation state as the largest field of influence), but temporally, moving beyond the lifetime of the individual to include that of their grandparents and parents. This is because the doxa of the field, what one learns (Bourdieu, 1986) can be understood as gained at the knee of one's parents and grandparents. It is *les ombres*, the shadows and echoes of familial accumulation that affect the quality of relationships and capital accumulation experiences.

On the basis of the discussion here, I argue that a person's habitus, formed from their accumulated capital in their lifetime, is formed not only from their own experiences, but from those shared by their immediate families. Therefore, if, as a small child, a person is with a parent who has no social capital because they fear their neighbours and colleagues secretly work for the KGB, (see fig.1 above) that child could grow-up with a heightened sense of distrust of others (Aasland and Fløtten, 2001). That is legacy capital. Growing-up with grandparents who witnessed friends being murdered or disappeared, will lead to a



child gaining aspects of their habitus that could result in a lack of trust in others. Having one's cultural capital systematically destroyed over generations, means that the child and eventually the adult person will have a historical legacy that is based in the methods of authoritarianism as much as it is in any particulars of cultural capital that they gain later in their life-time. historical legacy is the echo of the cultural, economic and social doxa that is created by a person's close family and which that family gains from their experiences and the field in which they live.

## Chapter 4 Methodology

For my thesis, I chose to use a case study approach, researching one social unit, a group of Latvian workers moving under the EU Freedom of Movement Provision (TFEU), who, at the start of the study, resided in West Yorkshire. Participants in the group moved to the UK between 2007 and 2015. I found the case study approach an ideal fit as my research area was essentially how and why people move to the UK using the TFEU. As is discussed in more depth in section 3.1, I wanted in-depth qualitative data, as I was asking how as opposed to 'what' and 'when' questions. An important concept I grew to understand in relation to this approach was habitus, especially in terms of reasonable choice; reasonable, as opposed to rational choice is explained in Chapter 2 and referred to in Chapter 9. My research does reflect on how and why questions, however, when considering the extent of understanding 'why' my participants emigrated, I have attempted to avoid the 'very alternatives that the notion of habitus is meant to exclude, those of consciousness and the unconscious, of explanation by determining causes.' (Bourdieu 1990:10). My thesis questions were therefore developed to gain empirical data on the participants' perceptions of why they moved, however, what can only really be known is how they dealt with social situations and what part their habitus played.

I used statistics to explore ideas, especially before I settled on the case study approach and this use was an important part of the planning process. As part of my case study, I also used Life-Grids, as these provided comparable quantifiable status data, such as date of emigration, which was imported for providing the boundaries of the case study group. I

wanted the group I was researching to be bounded by factors such as time of migration, this became more important as it became apparent that the recession of 2007 was an important factor to my research participants. I was, therefore, interested to know if potential crises such as Brexit and the recession of 2007 onward, had influenced EU migrants from Eastern Europe. The 'why and how' questions I have addressed using a Bourdieusian frame, understanding 'why' as predicated upon a reasonable choice that has developed from the participants' habitus, and this meant that it was necessary to bound the group in terms of field of origin (Latvia) and field of destination (West Yorkshire). The 'how' question is answered through the application of capital, habitus and historical legacy.

This Bourdieusian frame can be explained as arising from Bourdieu's 'fieldwork in philosophy' (1990:3). Bourdieu's frame incorporates theory and practice in a combined reflective approach and is premised on (the result of) a journey through structuralism to a form of habitus agency that benefited from his mastery of philosophy. Bourdieu (1990) describes this journey as resulting in a rejection of a social science based on structuralist objectivity. As Bourdieu explains, after he mastered first philosophy, then structuralism, where he 'imagined the social world as a space of objective relations that transcends the agents and is irreducible to interactions between individuals' (1990:9), he could not fit his first-hand observations of human society within any objective structure. Bourdieu further illustrates his disquiet with objective structuralist research and argues that even *what* is studied, the questions that are asked, let alone how it is studied, is ordered through a professional academic structure that 'brings into play an effect of censorship which goes far beyond institutional or personal constraints: there are questions you don't ask, and that you can't ask, because they have to do with the fundamental beliefs that are at the root of

science.' (1990:8-9). Bourdieu, (1990) therefore, questions the fundamental beliefs at the root of science, and places this epistemological approach within the philosophy of Wittgenstein. The importance of this questioning is that it implies a pliability potential, a possibility for reflexive adaptation; and for my research encouraged me to question even my own questions, the reasonable choices I have made, and to adapt my questions in response to the empirical data I gathered. The ability to adapt is important, however it is difficult to question approaches to social science research and to encourage others to do so. This part of my thesis, for instance, could sit nicely in the literature review, however, Bourdieu's theory of practice and philosophical pragmatism is tightly bound to his methodological approach, and the impact of this on my own approach can only be understood if it is reflected upon here, in the discussion of my research planning. Furthermore, Bourdieu's theory of practice and the grounded approach rests on the accumulation of empirical data and its ongoing analysis as a continuous part of the methodological process. This means that the methodology developed alongside the rest of the thesis, in response to the empirical data and the ability to do this was enhanced by having two tranches of in-depth interviews.

For my data collection, the aim was to be responsive to participants' habitus, as discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of habitus provides me with the possibility to produce a methodology that was formed to escape the 'choice between a structuralism without subject and the philosophy of the subject' (1990:10).

Bourdieu makes a point of referring to people as agents and not subjects. People's actions, for instance in my research, their action is their emigration, does not occur as a direct result of economic upheaval but because of their habitus. It is their habitus, their personal

situation and experience vis-à-vis their capital that will encourage responses to external stimuli. These responses will therefore vary depending on habitus. People are therefore argued here to make reasonable choices based on habitus, what they do, how they react, as explained in Chapter 2 and 8, depends on their habitus. However, this is an unconscious process. As Bourdieu describes,

Types of behaviour can be directed towards certain ends without being consciously directed to these ends, or determined by them. The notion of habitus was invented, if I may say so, in order to account for this paradox. Likewise, the fact that ritual practices are the product of a 'practical sense', and not of a sort of unconscious calculation or of obedience to a rule, explains that the rites are coherent, but that their coherence is the partial and never total coherence that we associate with practical constructions. (1990:9-10).

Gaining an understanding of my participants' habitus was the primary concern, how that interacts with their experiences of field and guides their emigration follows as the 'why' part of my questioning.

I decided that the most practical way to discover migrants' reasons for moving to the UK was to ask them, and as it was their interpretation that I wanted. I chose to use two tranches of in-depth interviews (as discussed in greater depth in section 3.1 below) as part of a case study. As discussed in Chapter 2, case studies have been useful in understanding migration and capital. For instance, Reynolds (2015) demonstrates the practicality of the case study approach to her research of

Caribbean migrants and the role of care in developing their cultural and social capital. Reynolds (ibid) provides a single example from the field of migration, and in a similar fashion, I have chosen to focus only on Latvian workers.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I explained my curiosity about the research area and the arguments that informed my theoretical approach. In this chapter and chapter section, I have clarified my research methodology and how this can be located within a Bourdieusian theoretical framework. To this end, in this chapter there is firstly a deliberation of the study design, which is based on the case study approach (Payne and Payne 2004). In section 3.2, there is a consideration of recruitment procedures and an in-depth discussion of the sample group. In section 3.3 attention is focused on study procedures, in section 3.4 there is an analysis of the ethical considerations which were undertaken as a part of this research. In section 3.5 the analytical methods and devices are discussed.

#### **4.1 Study Design**

The initial stages of planning involved a mix method approach that incorporated the use of secondary data and quantitative methods. This approach was used to prepare a research frame upon which to place and build the qualitative methodology and from which the empirical data could be evaluated. I wanted to use statistics to understand the extent of emigration from Latvia and the size of the Latvian community in West Yorkshire. My intention was not to gain a representative sample, but to ensure that a sample existed and to understand its composition. This background check was important to my study because, for instance, the information gained guided my choice of Latvian migrants as opposed to migrants from the Baltic States, which was my original choice. I discovered, for instance,

that for Estonians the UK is not a main migration destination. As is discussed in Chapter 4 above, the research design was responsive to the empirical data, furthermore, it had to be reflexive to the changing events with the research field in the UK. When the global pandemic prevented interviews with participants, I was fortunate to have collected my first tranche of interview data. Under University of York and departmental advice, the next tranche interviews had to be undertaken online. Under the advice of my departmental TAP, these were conducted using Facetime, on a Facebook page that was a closed page, with safeguards in place, for instance, no person could see other's posts or my 'friend list'. Furthermore, I placed firewalls to ensure that no person could gain access to the Facebook page without prior permission from me. With these safeguards in place I was able to conduct the second tranche of interviews, moreover, attrition was good, as even people were in lockdown, some without employment, and with time to arrange interviews. Facetime interviews were flexible and could be undertaken at any time suitable for the participants. Also, they could be undertaken anywhere, for example, with those who had returned to Latvia.

#### **4.1.1. Exploring the number of post 2007 Latvian Population in West Yorkshire to guide the design of the research frame.**

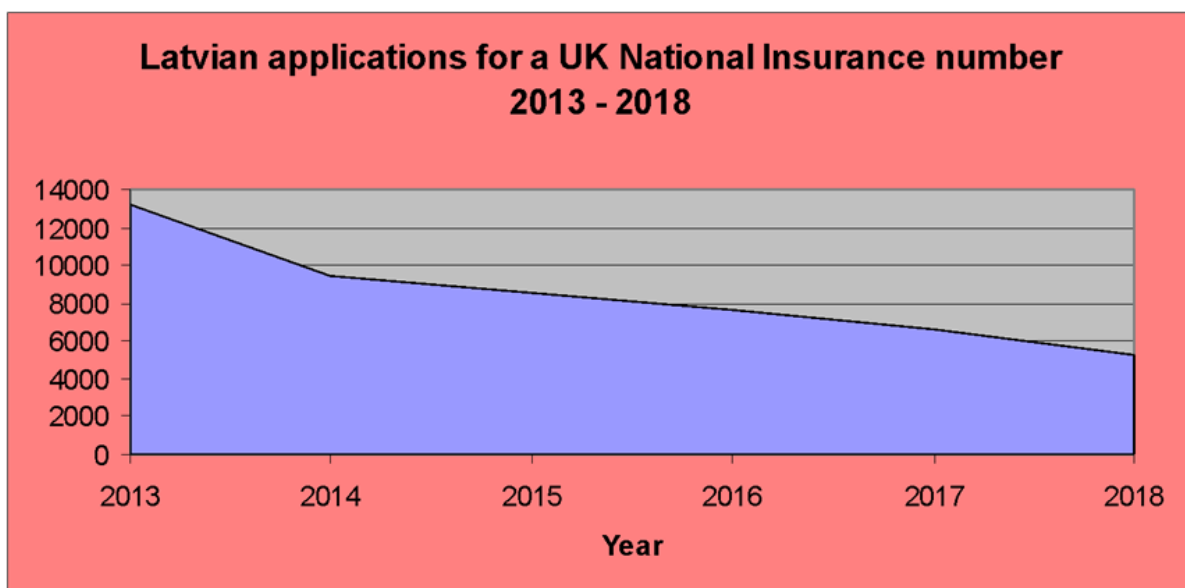
Using data from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), I gained a reasonable indication of approximate numbers of Latvians in the UK and in West Yorkshire, as any worker in the UK must have a national insurance (NI) number. Moving to the UK using TFEU a person must be a worker, retired with supportive means, or a dependent of a worker. The DWP statistics were useful in providing comparable data on NI applications from immigrant

workers. I could compare nationalities and EU ‘groupings’ such as those Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004. I could also gain an idea of significant increases or reductions in applications.

The use of statistics also provided ideas for questions on the reasons for my Latvian participants’ emigration from Latvia. The role of the 2007 – 2011 recession appeared to be significant, and it did provide a talking theme that I explored with my participants. However, DWP applications for NI numbers are not an actual true reflection of the numbers of Latvians living in West Yorkshire, as those with NI numbers might not stay, and other Latvians living and perhaps working in West Yorkshire, may not have NI numbers. Also, applications represent new workers, established workers are more difficult to number.

Using data extrapolated from UK Government applications for national insurance numbers, it is possible, as demonstrated in Fig.2 below, to precisely show the number of Latvian national insurance applications in the UK.

Fig.2 Latvian applicants for a National Insurance Number 2013 - 2018

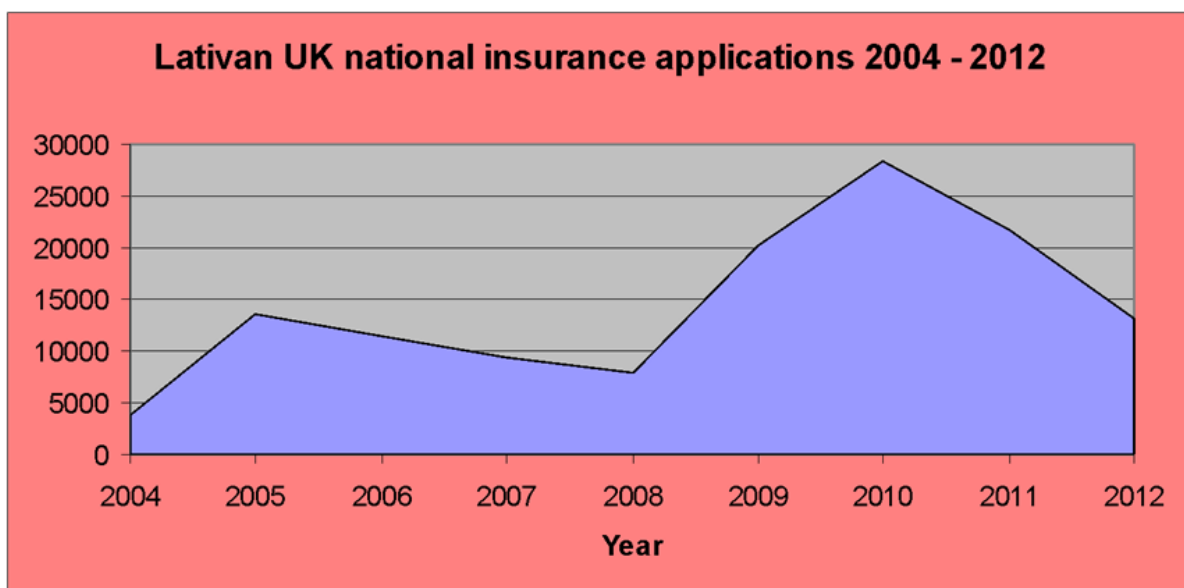




*Data extrapolated from UK Government DWP (2018).*

The number of national insurance applications for Latvians decreased from 13,186 in 2013 to 5,244 in 2018. This represents a 40% drop in applications over the five-year period 2013 – 2018. As is demonstrated in Fig.3, the decrease in NI applications is notable, and it is contrary to the increase during the period of the global economic recession of 2007 – 2011. There were more applications for NI numbers from Latvians during the economic recession and the number of applications decreased after 2011. From this observation of statistical data, I could not tell if the economic recession had influenced Latvians in their choice to emigrate to the UK, but the data did lead me to engage in talking about emigration choices and the economy.

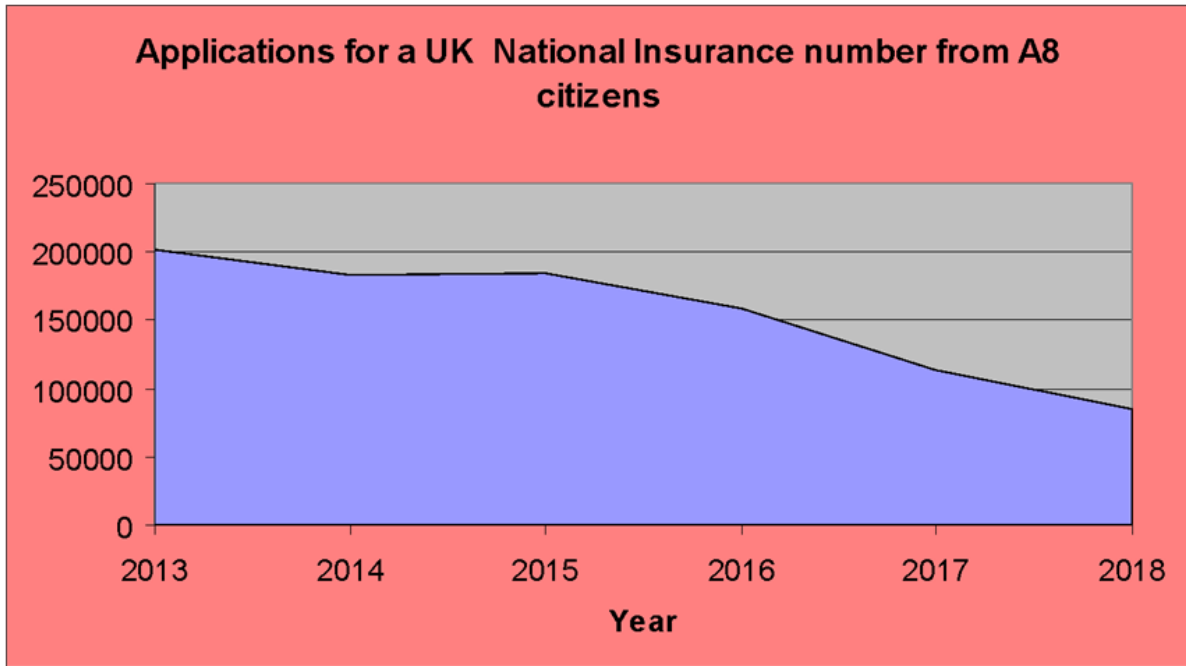
Fig.3 Latvian UK National Insurance Applications 2004 - 2012



*Data extrapolated from UK Government DWP (2018)*

This decrease in applications has occurred with other EU workers from A8 (Eastern European) countries, (Fig.4).

Fig.4 Applications for a UK National Insurance Number from A8 Country Citizens 2013 - 2018

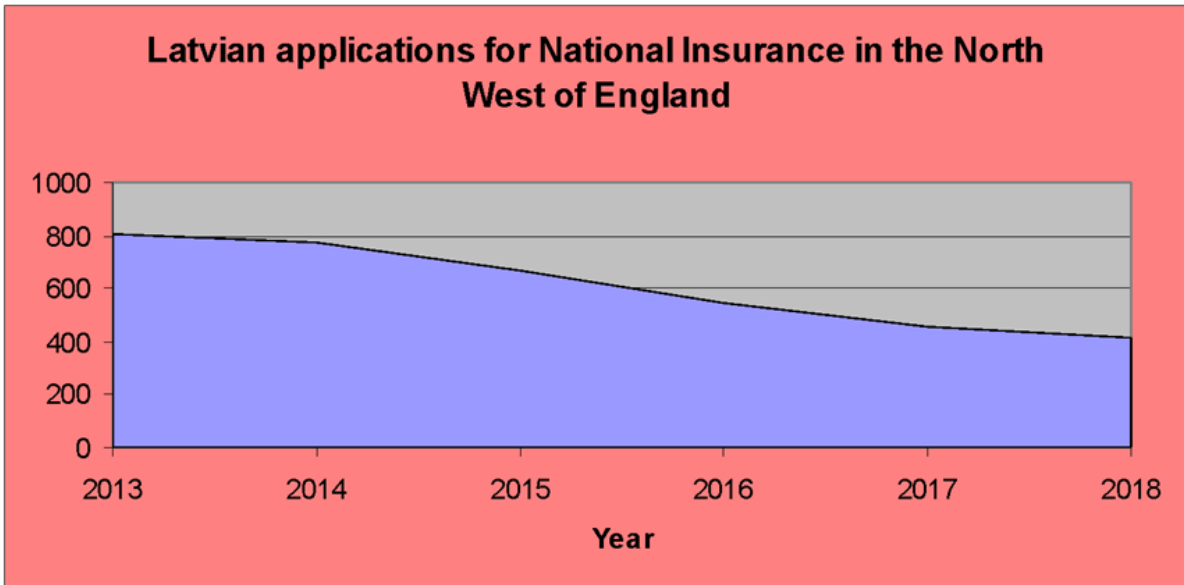


*Data extrapolated from UK Government DWP (2018).*

As can be seen in Fig.4 above, there was a decrease in National Insurance applications from EU citizens arriving from A8 countries. Application numbers dropped from 201,649 in 2013 to 84,636 in 2018. This is a 76% drop in applications.

In Fig. 4 below it can be observed that National Insurance applications in the Northwest of England dropped between 2013 to 2018. The number applying was 415 in 2018, compared to 5,244 nationally. Therefore, applications in the Northwest were 7.9% of the UK number.

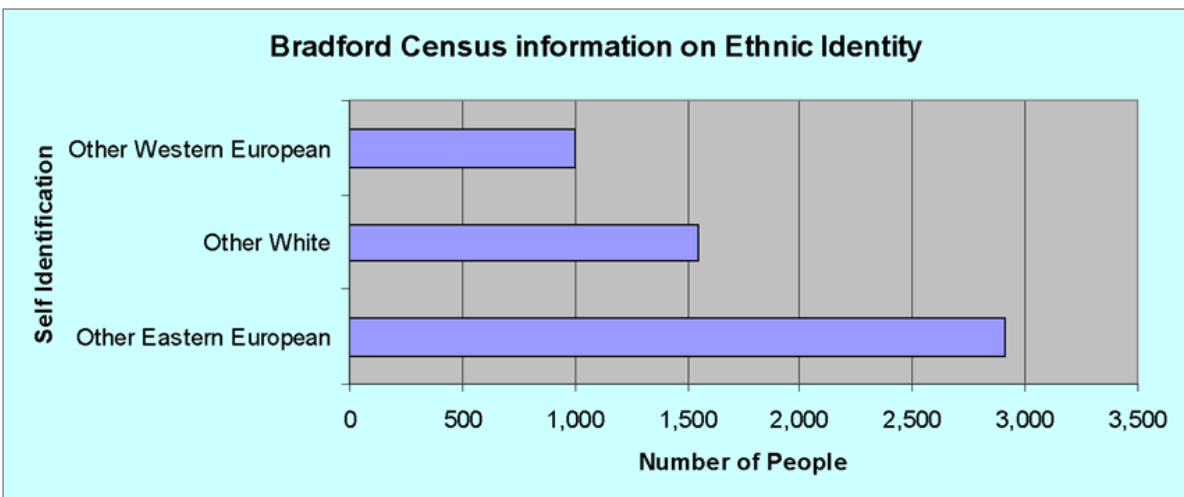
Fig.4 Latvian Applications for National Insurance Numbers in the West Yorkshire of England 2013 - 2018.



Data extrapolated from UK Government DWP (2018).

As the use of applications for National Insurance numbers only gives an indication of Latvian immigration, I extended my analysis to Census data for West Yorkshire. However, the Census data provided less information than the DWP information. An example of this is in Fig. 5, which provides a snapshot of census data for one town in West Yorkshire.

Fig.5 Bradford Census Information on Ethnic Identity.



Data extrapolated from 2011 UK Census

It is problematic using Census data to gain a reasonably accurate understanding of the number of any emigrant national group living in the UK, as it is only possible to find figures for different self-identifying populations. Further, the data does not differentiate in terms of all European Countries. The data shows no person identifying as Latvian or even a 'Latvian' category.

Although some European country nationals have a larger population in Bradford, and there are, for instance, 5,305 people identifying as Polish in the 2011 Census, it is evident that the categories provided through the Census do not specify all nationalities or ethnicities. Instead, it is possible that some Latvians might have identified as 'Eastern European', however, as Latvia is Geographically in Northern Europe, it is possible that those answering the Census might not have identified with the 'Eastern European' category. The population of Bradford in the 2011 Census was 522,452 and the number of Latvians applying for national insurance in years 2004 – 2011 was 1,928 (DWP 2018). Therefore, the argument that some Latvians would have been resident in Bradford during the Census is supported with National Insurance application evidence but not the Census. This is interesting as other statuses appear with very low numbers, for instance, the Census 2011 shows 11 people identifying as 'Chilean'. The DWP 2018 data 2004 – 2011 shows no applications from people categorised as 'Chilean' for national insurance numbers. Relying on these government statistics to give a full picture of Latvian population is therefore difficult.

Reflecting on the specific use of Census information in understanding the number of Latvians living in Bradford, it can be argued that Harris *et al's* (2012) demonstration of using National Insurance application data is more useful. However, anyone having made a National

Insurance application may not still reside in an area. Therefore, gaining an accumulative total is impossible using the DWP data.

Female applications numbered 1,549 over the period 2004 – 2018 and male applicants numbered 1,765 during this time. This represents, from a total of 3,314, males at 53% of applicants and females at 47% of applicants. This data demonstrates that the difference in male and female applications is not large. Arguably, this insight could support the idea that National Insurance applications are a good indication of Latvian migration to Bradford. Such a close difference in numbers of both male and female workers could support the idea that spouses or partners often work.

Other databases can be used to gain a better idea of the population in Bradford, for instance, Migration Yorkshire is useful in providing an interpretation of the 2011 Census Data.

I therefore decided to complete an analysis of the Latvian Census material on emigration and ethnicity (based on native tongue). It is clear that in terms of percentage emigration, Russian speakers account for over 36.6% of emigrants, even though they only account for 29.9 % of the population. The 2011 - 2018 Latvian Census Data demonstrates that the population of those speaking Russian as a first language at home has changed from 26.8% in 2011 to 25.2% in 2018. Table 1 below has been created with data extrapolated from the Latvian Government's (2019) census data and shows the percentage of the Russians emigrating from Latvia.

Table 1: International Long-Term Migration by Ethnicity of Migrants.

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration
Russians	36.6	35.3	31.3	30.1	27.7	28.0	26.9

Table 1 International Long-Term Migration by Ethnicity of Migrants. Generated on <https://www.csb.gov.lv/en/statistika/db>

It can be seen that this figure was over 30% of all emigrants in 2011. This represents 11, 087 emigrants in 2011 dropping to 4,775 in 2018. Emigrants from Latvia with Latvian as a first language are shown in the table below:

Table 2: International long-term migration by ethnicity of migrants

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration
Latvians	39.0	44.1	47.8	50.8	51.3	50.5	52.9

Table 2 International Long-Term Migration by Ethnicity of Migrants. Generated on <https://www.csb.gov.lv/en/statistika/db>

The majority of those emigrating from Latvia were Latvian speakers in 2014. The number of those emigrating changed from 11,823 in 2011, to 9,381 in 2017. This demonstrates that although the percentage share of migration has increased, the actual number has decreased. Indeed, as table 2 shows, emigration has been on the decrease.

Table 3: International Long-Term Migration by Ethnicity of Migrants.

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration	Emigration
Total	30 311	25 163	22 561	19 017	20 119	20 574	17 724
Latvians	11 823	11 106	10 794	9 655	10 319	10 379	9 381
Russians	11 087	8 879	7 068	5 722	5 567	5 753	4 775
Belarusians	810	752	600	462	510	691	530

Ukrainians	1 320	952	726	554	506	1 120	673
Poles	1 028	771	635	464	445	438	368
Lithuanians	545	393	366	314	326	328	292
Jews	450	208	351	170	150	110	119
Romanies	586	293	333	248	183	186	170
Germans	280	134	127	107	425	90	71
Other	1 489	958	866	773	926	801	774
Not specified/ unknown	893	717	695	548	762	678	57

Table 3: International Long-Term Migration by Ethnicity of Migrants. Generated on <https://www.csb.gov.lv/en/statistika/db>

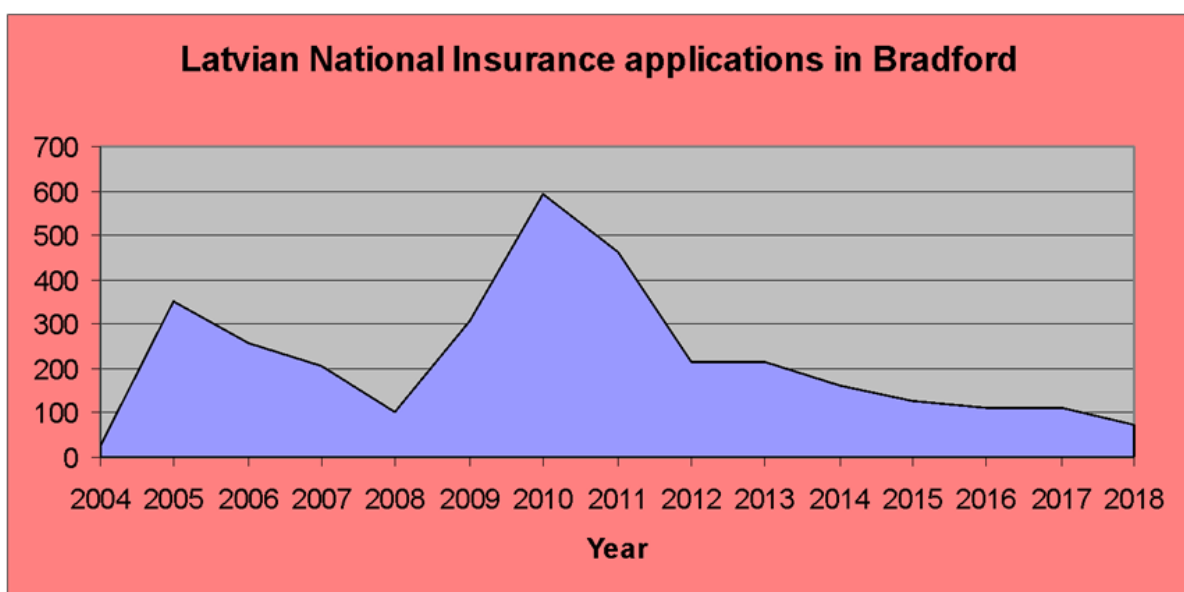
The Latvian Government (2019) indicates that net migration is at -7,808.



It is clear that the current population is the lowest it has been since 1953. The prior drop in population appeared in 1946 at the end of World War II. Growth followed, however, as Laitin (1998) demonstrates, during the Soviet occupation ethnic Russians were settled in Latvia.

The period 2009 – 2012 represents the largest period of emigration, and the largest number of emigrants since 1946.

Fig.6



*Data extrapolated from UK Government DWP (2018).*

Reflecting on the specific use of Census information in understanding the number of Latvians living in Bradford, it can be argued using National Insurance application data is more useful. However, anyone having made a National Insurance application may not still reside in an area. Therefore, gaining an accumulative total is impossible using the DWP data.

#### **4.1.2 Research Plan**

Research planning focused initially on the nature of the phenomenon that was to be interrogated, which was essentially how and why people emigrate to the UK from other

countries within the EU. I decided to use a case study framework to acquire in-depth perceptions from the participants and decided to bound the case study by looking at the experiences of the participants vis-à-vis emigration from Latvia to West Yorkshire. This focus on Latvian EU worker's migration to the UK and their perceptions of their ability to settle, led to a form of interpretative ontology that provided Latvian insights into their emigration from Latvia to West Yorkshire. As Mason (1996) states, understanding the ontological perspective of a project is important, not just in establishing how the research links between phenomena, theory and concepts but in the sort of epistemological questions that are needed to generate data given the understanding of social reality provided by the ontological view. The relationship between the empirical data and research questions was reflexive, this is an important part of Bourdieusian theory of practice (Bourdieu 1992). Therefore, the in-depth interview data that I gathered in the first tranche informed the direction of the research and further questions that I was inspired to ask in the second tranche of interviews. This inductive strategy is discussed in more detail below.

My research did not set out to establish a 'universal truth', however, the research was designed to provide insights into an 'intellectual puzzle' (Mason 1996:14). As discussed briefly in the introduction to Chapter 4, the puzzle is broadly: how and why did the Latvian participants emigrate? Did their capital aid their movement between countries (fields)? How does the social, political and economic history (habitus legacy) of Latvia affect my participants in terms of habitus and ability to make a reasonable choice to emigrate (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992)? The importance of grounding the research in the empirical data and being responsive to ongoing findings was paramount. As Bourdieu (1986:39) states:

To see, to record, to photograph: I have never accepted the separation between the theoretical construction of an object or research and the set of practical procedures without which there can be no real knowledge.

As briefly touched upon in the paragraph above, I therefore adopted an inductive strategy and was open to what the data might present. Although the use of Bourdieusian theory and concepts provided a framework from which to analyse data, offering an opportunity for increased reflexivity and academic contextualisation, the research was led by the empirical findings. As is discussed in Chapter 1, the focus of the research moved away from participant use of networks during migration, to factors such as crises and how these were influential in emigration. This was in direct response to the emerging empirical findings.

To contextualise the previous locale of the Latvian EU workers and how this could inform their current cultural and social capital, I found it was necessary to complete two trips to Latvia. If this had not been done, my understanding of the contexts informing migration would have been informed only by participants' interpretations and whilst this was of primary importance, I found it was of further value to observe Latvian daily life first hand. This provided an experience for me of the type and form of field from which the Latvian participants had emigrated.

Through using the case study approach my aim was to produce empirical data that was unique to the group, providing information that is useful, though not necessarily generalisable to all migrants. However, even though I gained data from one discrete group, the case study approach I employed can produce empirical data that arguably can be 're-

considered by other researchers and treated as a contribution to knowledge' (Payne and Payne 2004:32) . The case study approach comprised different elements: the most important was the elicitation of the lived experiences and accounts of the participants. However, I also used desk-based research to create a temporal context. This I achieved by reading history texts; contemporary socio-economic dynamics of migration from Latvia (Krisjane *et al* 2014; Kahanec and Zaiceva 2009; Gilbert 2013), as well as by studying other statistical data from the Latvian migration census. Although ethnicity was of great interest in understanding the group dynamics, it was 'allowed' to be established by the participants in their fuller discussion and not in response to a specific question.

To gain an understanding of the parameters of the group, National Insurance statistics were investigated. The process I used is demonstrated in 3.1.1 and is discussed in more detail in 3.2 below along with an explanation as to why, given the interpretive nature of the research, statistics are used at all.

I chose West Yorkshire as the area in which to conduct the study, as it provided a geographical area that was accessible to the researcher to conduct the case study. Further, West Yorkshire has been an area of continuous inward international migration. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) gives a population estimate in West Yorkshire of 2,332,469 in 2019, compared to 2,212,556 in 2010 (ONS 2019). In 2019 the estimated non-British population was 177,000 and in 2010 it was 125,000 (ONS 2019). This gives an estimated increased migration population figure across the 2010s of 52,000.

The plan was created to include the use of data analysis using NVivo. As is discussed in section 3.5, training with QSR International enabled me to develop ideas for the practical

application of NVivo. The training enabled me to plan how to establish several layers of analysis to enable the examination of the empirical data I later gathered. The plan facilitated me to place every participant into a case and within each case I planned to put the participant's initial interview, photographs and second interviews. The initial coding frame was designed to consist of nodes (codes) that mirrored the interview questions and had been selected deductively, to support concepts such as networks and the theoretical notions of habitus, cultural, social and economic capital and field. The plan to use NVivo was based on the potential for me to be responsive to the empirical data as NVivo allows for the addition of nodes and their reorganising. There is no hardened frame and findings are grounded in the research data but reflect on theoretical guidelines, which are adapted to the data. In this way I planned to use a Bourdieusian theory of practice, as outlined in the Introduction to Chapter 1 and in Chapter 5.

#### **4.2 The Recruitment Process**

The argument for using Latvian workers as a case study group rests on their specific cultural, social and economic history. This is discussed in greater detail in section 2.7 and below in this section. My research group choice is based on EU worker migration within the EU and the focus I chose was that of workers who grew-up in an economic, political and social field that had a legacy of Soviet (and then Russian) occupation. I wanted to explore the capital of those that choose to emigrate from a field that has significantly changed its political and economic system and to investigate the reasons for emigration. Therefore, as is discussed in this section, I could have chosen any of those countries that ascended to the EU in 2004 that also had a history of Soviet and Russian occupation. However, I decided to limit my choice to

either Latvian or Lithuanian workers, as there seemed to be a greater potential in West Yorkshire to find people from those countries. After researching DWP National Insurance applications, I discovered that there are more applications from Latvian than Lithuania and Estonia. In the Sample section below I demonstrate, using statistical data gained from the DWP, that Latvian applications for National Insurance numbers in West Yorkshire have been greater than Estonian or Lithuanian.

Latvian history and historical legacy of my participants was formed in their youth and informed by the lifetimes of their parents. Latvian society has been influenced since the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 1939 between the USSR and Nazi Germany. Both countries occupied Latvia, the USSR (latterly called Russia) continuously between 1944 and 1991 (Eberhardt 2019).

My participants' field experiences and how these interact with their emigration choices are important to my study, as their habitus differs from those from non-Eastern European states. Participants from the Latvian field would have experienced Soviet occupation, and this means, according to Bourdieu (1998), that their habitus has been influenced differently to those from non-Soviet colonised EU states. Further, as Hazans (2019) and Krisjane *et al.* (2014) demonstrate, there have been changes in the Latvian political and economic system (field) from a Soviet Command society to a neoliberal one and these changes are argued (Hazans, 2019) to have created a greater crisis in Latvia and Lithuania than other EU countries. It is reasoned here that such experiences differ enough from that of other EU states to make their emigration to the UK and their use of habitus to settle of interest.

A further reason to choose Latvian workers for my case study, as opposed to other Baltic State workers with a similar occupation and therefore field history, was because the number of Latvian workers in West Yorkshire was greater. This was identified with desktop analysis, discussed in section 3.3 below. There is evidence to suggest that Latvians have had increased motivation, compared to the other Baltic States, to emigrate to West Yorkshire, and it is intriguing to understand this further.

I recruited twenty-two participants, all of whom were linked in some way to form the case study group. For instance, friends would ask others within their friendship groups if they knew anyone within their (Latvian worker) networks who had emigrated between 2007 - 2015. The participants were therefore identified through a loose form of snowball sampling. However, prior to sampling, a frame for the research was created. As Robinson (2014:5) argues, it is important to establish a '*sample universe*', or frame; for this study it was West Yorkshire and Latvian EU workers moving under The Freedom of Movement Provision to the UK.

The initial part of the recruitment process was my recruitment of participants who, as Atkinson and Flint (2001) describe, could provide further introductions to others. In the specifics of this research, a member of the Latvian Club was identified who directed me to others. Another gatekeeper lived near to me in West Yorkshire and I met her as a neighbour. These two 'gatekeepers' were essential to the recruitment of the participants. As indicated in other research (Whyte, 1954), gatekeepers have been used for some time in sociological research to facilitate contact with other potential respondents. This was especially useful to recruit a case study group, as all the members were known to each other. The term gatekeeper therefore refers to a person (or people) who can literally, 'open-

up' a way into others' social environments, who would otherwise be hard to access. An example of this in more contemporary literature is from Emmel, *et al.* (2007) who worked with a gatekeeper to access socially excluded people, as they argue, an extremely hard group to access. In this study's context, the Latvian social media world of Facebook was opened-up to me by the gatekeepers who introduced new respondents to me via that medium. As I grew-up in the UK and do not speak Latvian, having the two gatekeepers was an essential part of the recruitment process.

### **Sample**

I accessed statistical data from the DWP 2020 to find out if there were enough Latvians in West Yorkshire to create a case study group. I was also interested to discover if Latvian applications for National Insurance numbers were greater than those from other Baltic states. As Hazans (2019) argued that Latvia had undergone a worst economic upheaval since the 2007 onward recession compared to other EU nations including the hard-hit Baltics, I wondered if that would be reflected in the number moving and finding work in West Yorkshire. Using National Insurance application statistics (DWP 2020) it was possible to identify the number of EU workers from Eastern Europe in West Yorkshire who had applied for National Insurance numbers. I discovered, for instance, the number of Estonian workers in West Yorkshire in 2004 was 30; for Lithuanians 146 and for Latvians 60. In 2010, applications from Estonians rose to 77; for Lithuanians 820 and for Latvians 1,362 and in 2020: Estonians, 112; Lithuanians 1,003 and Latvians 1,474.

The group size, consisting of 22 individuals, was based on two factors. Firstly, the number of potential participants meeting the criteria of Latvian EU workers. Secondly, and most



importantly, the theoretical underpinning of the case study approach and the potential to achieve qualitative data to be gathered through time-consuming, in-depth semi-structured interviews, Life-Grids and photographs, which meant the number of participants had to be limited.

Twenty-two participants were recruited via snowball sampling. This sample size represents 0.66% of the potential working Latvian population in West Yorkshire. I wanted to be as unbiased as possible, however, using the snowball sampling technique did result in more female workers being represented in the case study. The characteristics of the participants can be viewed in Fig.7 and they have been identified by age on emigration to the UK, gender and anonymised name.

Fig. 7 Case Study Participants Anonymised.

Column1	Column2	Column3	Column4
Person	Age Group	Arrived in UK	Gender
Ada	26 – 36	2012	Female
Aiva	26 – 36	2011	Female
Art	26 – 36	2013	Male
Eli	26 – 36	2012	Female
Eve	37 – 47	2009	Female
Freda	26 – 36	2007	Female
Janis	26 – 36	2009	Male
Lexi	26 – 36	2010	Female
Joanne	26 – 36	2008	Female
Melinda	26 – 36	2010	Female
Mirna	58 -67	2010	Female
Mutty	58 -67	2008	Female
Nadez	26 – 36	2009	Female
Olga	26 – 36	2014	Female
Oliver	26 – 36	2013	Male
Rait	26 – 36	2014	Male
Regi	26 – 36	2010	Male
Rena (2)	26 – 36	2007	Non-Binary

Roman	26 – 36	2008	Male
Sab	17 – 25	2016	Female
Tiberius	26 – 36	2012	Male
Zav	26 – 36	2011	Male

The sample group included ethnic Latvian Russians as well as Latvians and a range of ages. Although not attempting to be directly reflective of the broader population, the idea that bias could occur if the sample was not ‘mixed’ was considered as an area for concern.

### 4.3 Study Procedures

The questions were designed to be part of in-depth interviews. In the interviews the participants were encouraged to talk about their experiences just prior to moving to West Yorkshire and about how they settled in. The purpose of the research was to understand how migrants use their habitus in the emigration process and if some migrants find it easier to settle. As my knowledge and experience has developed throughout this study, I have avoided focusing on so-called ‘determining causes’ (Bourdieu 1990:10) for participants’ emigration and I have focused exploration on participants’ perceptions of their reasons for migration and how their capital, their habitus, led them to make reasonable choices.

As part of the interview process, the participants were asked to read through and sign a consent form and a form explaining the purpose of the study. However, this turned out to be a ridiculous request based on my belief that participants’ reading ability in English mirrored their clear verbal prowess. It did not, and this was a learning experience for me, because, as an emigrant to France I had learned to read and write French before I could speak it and I had made the assumption that this was how others learned new languages.

However, the participants all had two languages that they spoke as native speakers, Latvian

and Russian. In the first couple of interviews it became clear that English had often been learned through the use of digital technology, with formal education being a secondary support. This information helped me design future interviews, and as part of that process I spent time reading through and explaining the information sheet and permission sheets. This process was extremely time consuming but necessary. Below are examples of the information that I shared with the participants.

The participants kept a copy of both of these documents. The important take-home from this is that people learn languages differently depending on their habitus and the field in which they gained their early languages. Furthermore, it is important to be reflexive to events during the interview process and to adapt procedures accordingly. The experience with these forms led me to use the Life-Grids, discussed in 3.3.3., with caution.

#### **4.3.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews.**

I invited the participants to two face-to-face interviews, originally six months apart but due to COVID 19 the second interviews were conducted online one year after the first. As discussed in the first part of Chapter 4 above, the second tranche of interviews were conducted online using a secure Facebook page devised specifically for this process. The first interviews were undertaken between October 2019 and January 2020 and the second wave of interviews took place between October 2020 and January 2021.

The interviews were semi-structured to better enable a comparison of data from each interview across participants and time. Although some questions were used for all the interviews, the idea was to initiate a rapport and allow the participant to talk in-depth about

their experiences of migration. To encourage in-depth data to emerge, each interview was designed to allow conversation to develop, this conversation was drawn back to specific questions that needed to be answered to maintain consistency of data. These were:

1. Why did you want to come to the UK?
2. Before arriving in the UK, did you know anyone here, or contact person(s) living in the UK?
3. Have you made new friends?
4. When did you come to the UK?
5. If you have made new friends, or met old ones, how have they helped you settle-in?
6. Do you feel that you have settled in well?
7. What activities do you do in the UK?
8. What activities did you do in Latvia?
9. What was your education level in Latvia?
10. Have you done any studying here in the UK?
11. Was it an easy decision to come to the UK?

12. Do you think that it is easier for some people to migrate here from Latvia?
13. Do you stay in touch with family and friends in Latvia?
14. What do you think about the British 'lifestyle'?
15. Has your lifestyle changed since you came to the UK?
16. How do you think you have changed since coming to the UK?
17. Do you plan to go back to Latvia or to stay in the UK?

This approach reflects what can be described as purposeful conversations (Burgess and Burgess 1988; Rosenwald 1988). These were planned to put the participants at ease because of the informal and conversational style. As Mason (1996:38) suggests, this can be a 'thematic', 'topic centred' or 'biographical' approach. She states that such conversational interviews often do not have set questions. However, in this study the planning incorporated some open-ended questions that were designed to be answered by all participants.

I was further rewarded in terms of the amount of and in-depth quality of empirical data through the use of photo-elicitation which is discussed in 3.3.2.

The research approach was a changeable, ongoing experience. Although the overall objective changed marginally, this reflection led to a refocus of the research aims, for instance, these started as:

- What were the motivations for the participants' movement to the UK?
- How did the participants' capital enable their ability to move to the UK?
- How does capital enable participants' ability to settle successfully?
- What part does the participants' capital play in their decisions to stay in West Yorkshire or to return to Latvia?

And after the initial feedback from the first tranche of interviews developed over the course of the research to:

- What do the participants perceive as their motivation for emigration to the UK? How are habitus, history and class significant to the choice to emigrate?
- Did the participants' emergent cultural capital enable their ability to move and settle in the UK? What role did crises play vis-à-vis the participants' capital and the ease with which they could move from one geographic field to another?
- How does capital enable participants' ability to settle successfully? Reacting to the empirical data, more specifically, how has the participants' migration journey and ability to settle in the UK been enhanced using digital technology?
- How has crises at a macro field level influenced the participants' thoughts on remaining in the UK or returning to Latvia.

Therefore, the questions and research aims did change in response to the empirical data. In particular, the participants' discussions on crises and digital technology led to a refocus on questioning. This style of interviewing allowed for what Roulston and Choi (2018) describe as probes or inquisitive follow-up questions to continue to enquire on an area that the participant has introduced, whilst ensuring that all of the information that was needed was gathered. In this manner, the direction of the conversation was led by the interviewees but

returned to the areas that needed to be touched on. My findings and further questioning was grounded in the empirical data they provided. The questions were ordered to encourage conversation; as Roulston and Choi (2018:233) state, questions can be sequenced to: 'generate free-ranging conversations about research topics.' but they were also responsive, grounded in my prior learning from other interviews and developed as part of the interview.

The aim was to be active and reflexive, to attempt to overcome bias on my part. However, this was undertaken with the understanding that it is not possible to be totally unbiased. The argument was that it would be necessary to continuously quiz the interview style: the amount of data gathered, the type of data, the experience of the interviewee and interviewer bias. Bias and subjectivity are investigated more below, they remained a part of the research process and were considered at all stages, during planning, throughout application and as part of the analysis of the interviews.

The first tranche of twenty-two interviews were held in either a community centre, on an estate that is central to those areas where many of the respondents lived, or in a quiet cafe that offered a private space where the respondents could speak with confidence. The locations were chosen as 'neutral' places, avoiding the use of the respondents' homes, and they provided safe, comfortable, staffed and private environments. Each interview was recorded using a digital recording device that had a linked microphone. I uploaded the interviews to NVivo and transcribed them in that software, saving the findings onto my password protected University Google Drive. Confidentiality and data storage was

explained to the respondents and their permission asked before the recorder was used. I also read through the participant information sheet (Appendix B) with the participant.

The second set of interviews that were undertaken at the end of 2020 and I had to use Facetime on Facebook. This was because of the COVID 19 pandemic and my procedures reflected University of York guidelines for non-face to face interviews. This approach provided further ethical considerations, for instance, social media is regarded as a friend sharing platform. I created a 'standalone' Facebook page. This was designed to only be used for participants in the study. Further, I used safeguarding features that are available on Facebook, for instance, only I could see my friends on the Facebook that I used, only I can invite people to the site, and only I could see correspondences.

A benefit of having two sets of interviews was that this 'longitudinal' quality to the interview data enriched my findings. My follow-up questions could be grounded in my findings from the first set of interviews. Further, the respondents had time to reflect on the first interview. The first twenty-two interviews lasted between one to two hours. The transcription of each hour took a further four to five hours. The second set of interviews lasted between 45 minutes to one hour and took two hours to transcribe.

#### **4.3.2 Photo elicitation/documentation.**

The second method I used was photo-elicitation and this idea was introduced to each respondent in the first interview. Each respondent was asked to take five to ten photographs that mirrored their sense of belonging, networks and community. This provided an 'ongoing' reflection. I discussed the photographs with the participants in the



second interview. As Higginbottom et al. (2011) describe, the use of photo-elicitation is useful as a complementary method in combination with interviews. They argue that the use of photo-elicitation is particularly relevant with people from migrant groups who wish to express themselves visually as well as verbally. I found that using photographs provided a good focus for the beginning of the second interview and acted as an icebreaker after the year since the first interview. That was the biggest benefit for me in using this method. Further, during the first interview, one of the participants initially misinterpreted my request and started to show me all his wedding photos that were saved on his phone. This misinterpretation provided a wonderful insight into what is important to that participant. There were rich talking points and enthusiastic discussion. All the concepts from the conceptual frame, social, cultural and economic capital formed part of the discussion. On reflection, stumbling across this as a method was rewarding, and could form the basis, if combined with in-depth interviews, of a methodological approach in future.

#### **4.3.3 Life-Grids**

The 'Life-Grid' approach I used in this case study was adapted from Abbas *et al* (2013). I used a basic Life-Grid that can be viewed in Appendix F. Abbas *et al* used a grid structure transposed onto a piece of A3 paper to collect biographical information. I adapted this idea to allow for the collection of comparable data, such as age range and date my participants moved to the UK. My participants completed the Life-Grid at the start of the first of two semi-structured interviews; it served as an 'ice-breaker' as well as a device to collect structured demographic data. In combination with the photographs, the Life-Grids formed the basis of the introduction to the second tranche of interviews. An advantage of using

Life-Grids was that some information was standardised and was easily used to create comparisons between participants' responses.

Although the Life-Grids were useful, I did not use them to attempt to gauge change in my participants overtime, as I wanted to discover any reflections that they had on the ongoing changes which affected them in the UK, notably Brexit, through their discussion. My participants stated that they did not want to write in the Life-Grids, as English is their third language, they lacked confidence to do this. Therefore, I filled them out with the participants during their first interview. My finding is that care needs to be taken with the use of Life-Grids. For instance, as with interviews, there can be an epistemological shortcoming if participants are asked to reflect on past experiences. Bell (2005) critically analyses the use of Life-Grids, arguing caution needs to be applied in their use, as any kind of retrospective data relies on memories. In the interviews the participants could lead the conversation, and although questions existed, they were intended to be talking-themes that needed to be touched on and were open to development. Whereas the use of Life-Grid was static with set questions in place. Further, using the Life-Grid to encourage participants' perspectives of past events and how these influenced them, could ignore a combination of other factors that influenced the participant, not only those on the Life-Grid. A further issue I considered was the potential for my own research bias, which could occur if I singled out memories to be placed on the Life-Grid.

#### **4.4 Ethical Considerations**

As Payne and Payne (2004:66) argue:

Ethical practice is a moral stance that involves conducting research to achieve not just high professional standards of technical procedures, but also respect and protection for the people actively consenting to be studied.

Working from the above quote as a basic stance for my ethical approach, I gave full consideration and reflection to the research design in terms of how ethical it was. For instance, the storage, anonymisation and use of empirical data was considered. Furthermore, care was taken to be supportive and respectful of my research cohort.

As part of the planning process and ethical concern, project information sheets and consent forms, and these are discussed in 3.1. These sheets detailed that their contribution and identity would remain anonymous. Further, the confidential nature of the information they gave was underlined. There was a detailed description of the use to which the research was to be put. The participants were given details of the storage procedures for the information gained and they were made aware who can gain access. They were made aware that the data protection procedures in-line with the 2018 Data Protection Act would be followed.

In gaining consent, the understanding and welfare of the participants was of primary importance. I explained to the participants that they could refuse to answer questions and they could leave the study at any time up to two weeks after the date of the second interview. If they had any concerns, I informed the participants that they could contact my supervisors, Dr Clare Jackson and Dr Richard Tutton, and I gave the participants the emails

of both on the information sheet. I explained to the respondents that their data would be stored up on my University of York google drive.

As mentioned above, English was the participants' third language, and consideration was given to the possible issues that this could cause. Reflection was given to the possibility of my participants misunderstanding questions. I did not use a translator as my participants could speak English and were able to give consent and converse in English. However, their reading of English was not as advanced as their verbal skills, so I read through and explained the consent form and project information sheet.

I did not think that the type and form of questions that I planned to ask would lead to my participants becoming upset. However, the nature of qualitative interviews does mean that through discussion a participant might raise a sensitive issue. For instance, in the first tranche of interviews it became apparent that some of the participants were homesick, and further, when the participants reflected on their reasons for remaining in the UK and not returning to Latvia, this was often due to a personal crisis that they experienced in Latvia. Therefore, this experience demonstrated to me that it is not possible to know in advance whether a participant might become upset. The plan was to stop interviews if any of my participants became upset. However, in the event, this did not become necessary.

Nevertheless, I was pleased that I had put plans in place should participants become distressed., For instance, I provided an information sheet with support services signposted. However, I found that just listening and not judging, whilst subtly asking questions that directed conversation onto another theme proved the best policy.

At the beginning of the interview process, the participants were nominated an agreed pseudonym. All other identifying factors, such as contact details were encoded and saved

onto my University of York Google Drive. Once the PhD is complete, they will be destroyed.

The participants' names do appear on the consent forms, which are currently securely stored in a locked cabinet in my office.

To ensure that I was safe I undertook procedures to support me as a remote worker. For instance, I informed my partner about the time and place of the interviews. I used a remote worker safeguarding frame, which can be found in Appendix G.

#### **4.5 Analytical Methods**

I undertook a thematic analysis of the data using NVivo, a data analysis software package that is particularly useful in supporting qualitative data analysis and adaptive to quantitative data. Further, NVivo is also a secure method to store empirical data. I was able to use NVivo to store collected empirical data, and to then transcribe into word documents. My findings were then saved on the secure, password-protected University of York Google Drive. I found the use of NVivo to be an excellent method of thematically analysing the data, as I could create nodes that were straightforward to anonymise. As a research package it worked well for me, as I could both store and analyse data. The planned nodes were:

##### Main Node:

- The use of Social Networks.

##### Sub Nodes:

- If the participant knew anyone in the UK before arrival.
- If contact was made with anyone in the UK/ West Yorkshire before arrival.
- If they have made new friends in West Yorkshire.

- Explanation of any help gained from new friends made in the UK.
- Explanation of aid given by old friends in the UK.
- Explanation of help provided prior to moving to West Yorkshire by friends in Latvia.
- Thoughts on whether it is easier for some people to migrate to West Yorkshire from Latvia.

### Main Node

Development of Social Networks and use of Social Capital.

#### sub nodes:

- Do you feel that you have settled in well?
- What activities do you do in the UK?
- What activities did you do in Latvia?
- Have you done any studying here in the UK?
- Do you stay in touch with family and friends in Latvia?
- New friends since arriving in West Yorkshire / UK.

### Main Node:

Motivation to move to West Yorkshire.

#### sub nodes:

- Perception of reasons for moving to West Yorkshire.
- The ease of decision making to come to the UK.

### Main Node:

Commitment to Social Network. Plans to remain in the UK or to return to Latvia.

### Main Node:

## Perceptions of Field and Habitus

### sub nodes:

- What do you think about the British 'lifestyle'?
- Has your lifestyle changed since you came to the UK?
- How do you think you have changed since coming to the UK?

These nodes were developed in response to topics that arose during the interviews. For instance, another node was added that asked about the use of digital technologies in the emigration process.

I managed to hone my research skills with NVivo through working with NVivo to code interviews carried-out by the department of Health Sciences at The University of York. This experience reinforced the importance of consistency of frame application in the delivery of questions. To further support my use of NVivo 12 I undertook extra training with QSR International, the designers of the NVivo software. This was useful in supporting analysis of my empirical data.

To compare my empirical data, it was necessary to organise it into different categories and subcategories and NVivo was particularly useful in achieving this, as mentioned above, this was done through using nodes and sub nodes. As Richards (1999) describes, a node is the term used to denote a category. Each main node can often be split into sub nodes that support the question held in the main node. Some data will fit into more than one node, for instance, in my research social media use fit into nodes that were based on social, cultural and economic capital. As Richards (1999) posits, the use of nodes to categorise information is an excellent way to promote ease of comparison and analysis. Hutchinson et al. (2010)

state that it is possible to create 'attributes or classifications that can be used to structure the data. NVivo was particularly useful in creating classifications (nodes) but importantly open to adaptation and change in response to empirical findings. For example, I could add sub nodes under main nodes in response to interview data such as 'crises'. The crises sub node was extended after the first tranche of interviews to incorporate the further sub nodes: no experience; poverty and personal crisis. In this manner my research was grounded in the findings, but within a flexible theoretical frame.

The analysis has been rigorous and followed a step-by-step procedure, for instance, whilst the initial frame was organised with nodes based on deductive reasoning, during the transcription and further analysis, these nodes were added to, removed or acquired sub nodes as information from the interviews inspired inductive reasoning. Node building, whilst having an initial frame, was overall reflexive and responded to the interviews and the analytical process. Therefore, in my case study, I used an analytical approach and searched for commonalities and themes using NVivo. The data has been put through a systematic process, the first stage of which was the transcribing of the audio interview data. During the transcription, themes and patterns were drawn out of the data using a systematic inductive process. This systematic process involved a first stage of analysis where the original talking themes were used as key points. During the transcription, the original nodes were reflected upon and sub nodes or new nodes added as part of the inductive process. This developed the initial findings.

During the second stage of analysis, I read the transcribed interviews with reference to the themes and sub-themes which had been established initially and during the transcription.



Each interview was analysed and segmented into the corresponding nodes. Therefore, commonalities and patterns across interviews were highlighted as they were 'fed into' each node. There was systematic analysis of each interview. As Lapadat (2010) describes, NVivo supports rigorous data analysis. NVivo has been designed specifically to support the systematic analysis of cases, which can include interviews, photographs and other data pertaining to each participant in a study. Each participant's case is analysed in respect of the other cases. The formation of comparisons occurs, and any overarching themes can be recognised.

Boyatzis (1998) argues that thematic analysis is applicable in five ways. It is usable as a method to visualise the data, therefore, to create reports that illustrate supportive statements from each interview, or even to produce basic graphs, or to compare photographs. Boyatzis (1998) suggests that using this method it is possible to quantify qualitative data; clearly, if ten participants state the same answer to a question, there are ten pieces of commonality, a quantity of data. In respect of the 'classification' function in NVivo I found that some quantifiable data was useful, for instance the participants' age, the date they arrived in the UK, and their education level were all factors that I wanted to reflect on, as they became relevant during the study. Other factors such as class, were less easy to quantify, but were drawn out through reflection on the participants' discussions and use of secondary literature (Savage 2015).

Using NVivo to analyse data allowed for a 'greater control', for instance, all the answers to one question could be placed in one node, and it was not necessary to keep reading through the entire interview to find the relevant passage. All the key nodes contained the data for that question. The third stage of analysis allowed for the continued immersion and

reflection on the findings with a sensitivity to other research in the area. During this stage, I found that further themes continued to emerge, for instance, it became clear that only two of the participants had used a structured network when travelling to the UK. These findings enabled me to change focus from an in-depth examination of social networks to a consideration of the interplay between social, cultural and economic capital. This was a result of continuous reflexivity and analytical rigour. I was not going to make the data fit my initial frame, if it did not, I could adapt the frame.

The analytical methods I used included the operationalisation of concepts that were either formed through the gathering of the empirical data or part of the theoretical framework. For instance, crisis and crises were concepts that I used to analyse the data and these were provided as necessary concepts from the interviews. Further, using this manner of continuous analysis grounded in empirical data (Bourdieu 1986, 1998) also included a form of practical reasoning where I remained responsive but also able to analyse data using a flexible theoretical framework. The framework was established after I had started with the concept of social networking and this was superseded by social, cultural and economic capital, (Bourdieu 1986) as important concepts to analyse the data.

I found that the use of a case study supported an analytical approach responsive to the empirical data. I could use both qualitative and quantitative methods, although most of the empirical data is qualitative, it was useful to be able to turn to quantitative data. For instance, I used desktop analysis to establish whether there were a significant number of Latvian moving under the FMEU. I used other secondary studies that had used statistics (Hazan 2011, 2012, 2013, 2019; Iksen 2011; Hardy 2014) to understand other perspectives for emigration from Latvia. Therefore, there was some application of quantitative methods

that, as Hammersley (1996) argues, can be used in conjunction with qualitative methods to better facilitate their application. Here, for instance, the desktop analysis of government statistics is used to understand the distribution of Latvian EU workers in West Yorkshire, better enabling the sampling focus and providing necessary background information.

#### **4.6 An Evaluation of the Methodology and theoretical framework**

As I mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 4, the case study approach had practical benefits for my PhD thesis, as Payne and Payne (2004) explain, it allowed for the exploration of ideas whilst being manageable due to the scale of the research. This was important to my study as it was necessarily conducted over a given time and bounded tightly by finances, as I had to personally fund any travel and meetings. I also found the case study approach useful as it enabled me to concentrate all of my efforts and this enabled, as Payne and Payne argue, the research to be completed reasonably quickly: 'By concentrating on one case, it is possible to complete work more quickly, and in much greater depth and detail, than if the researcher were trying to cover several cases.' (2004:32). I further found that another benefit of using a case study approach was that, as Becker (1970:125-126) argues, 'the story can be presented from their point of view'. I therefore found that my case study provided a slice of information about the understandings of my Latvian participants, which is not a generally accepted interpretation of social reality but unique to them. In terms of understanding the social group, as Becker (1970) suggests, a case study often has a 'double purpose'; it enquires into its members, asking who they are, for instance, 'What are their stable and recurring modes of activity and interaction? How are they related to one another and how is the group related to the rest of the world?' (1970:76). Using the case study approach, I found that I could produce a comprehensive understanding of my Latvian cohort

and any shared characteristics. This partially reflects Becker's idea that: 'the case study also attempts to develop more general theoretical statements about regularities in social structure and process'. (1970:76). I found this to be applicable to the extent that social structures were influential to the case study group. For instance, the reaction of their Latvian neoliberal government vis-à-vis the recession and the economic changes that were made. These economic changes had a comparable impact on all the participants. However, what is important for this study, and is discussed next in Chapter 5, is the Latvian participants' responses; the ways, for instance, incidents of personal crises were exacerbated by events at national and global level. Structures are not considered as hard and fast static influences that alone influenced the participants. My approach, therefore, mirrors the reflexivity of a Bourdieusian theoretical application, as illustrated in section 3.1 above, arguably best employed as he did, to case studies. Using Bourdieu's (1986) approach led me to the development of methodologies to support my understanding of the fabric of the group of Latvian EU workers in West Yorkshire. The precise terminology of their status as migrant workers within the context of the EU; their nationality, their ages, their genders, religions and ethnicities are all part of this fabric. Like a piece of fabric, there are different threads, from a distance, a piece of cloth could look mono coloured, plain, however, up close, different threads can be seen to interweave. Placing the lens on the group allowed understanding to move beyond 'common sense' interpretations of Latvian EU workers as being one homogenous unit, allowing for greater insights regarding the group.

The case study allowed me to get to know my participants through in-depth conversation at two points over the period of a year. I was interested to understand how the participants managed to emigrate and settle into life in West Yorkshire. I found that the case study

method and Bourdieu's (1986) theoretical approach allowed me the space to understand how I worked as a researcher and to be responsive to some of my own biases. I had acquired a bias for qualitative research methodology as an undergraduate at Plymouth University, and the case study approach alerted me to the potential use of quantitative methods, especially in terms of understanding the extent of a social phenomena, even if the reason they exist remains obscured. Further, the experience of using photo-elicitation was empowering for the participants, who could explain their world view in much greater depth with the aid of photographs. This could be an especially beneficial approach to gaining qualitative data from migrants. I have grown to become responsive to the research approaches that work best with the participants and to develop these.

In terms of my bias, it was appropriate to examine my past research experience and why I chose my ontological and methodological approach. This has been done by other researchers using a Bourdieusian approach, for instance Friedman and Laurison, (2020:261), who explain their class profiles, as they consider this to be important in any discussion on class. A deeper consideration of this method is provided by May (2005:14), who contends that: 'We can only know the meanings people give to their environment, not the environment itself.' Further: 'Contrary to the contentions of positivists we, as researchers, cannot know this independent of people's interpretations of it.' (2005:14). Therefore, reflecting on my own experiences as a working migrant moving under the TFEU was important (see Chapter 1), as were the reasons for my choice of theoretical framework and consequential methodological approach.

I primarily managed my status as an outsider to the Latvian group mainly through the use of gatekeepers and I discuss this use of gatekeepers and their relevance in this research in section 3.1.2 above. I gained acceptance into the community I was researching through the use of two acquaintances. This placed me on the outskirts of the Latvian community. I attended the Latvian Club and made several trips to Latvia. However, my entry into Latvian community as an outsider emanated from the relationships that I grew in the working-class streets of West Yorkshire. I chose migration because it is an area that I am interested in, and Eastern Europeans especially intrigue me because of the lack of accumulated capital that they have compared to other members of the EU (Bourdieu 1998). However, I also choose Europeans to research with because their expectations of interactions differ from the expected interactions in English doxa. I knew from experience that their form of discourse would be open, sometimes blunt but without the subtleties and expectations of English discourse that often has hidden meanings that are difficult for a person with Autism, and people from other cultures, to fully navigate. My research participants accepted me because I valued their discourse form and valued them.

The field trips that I undertook provided a sense of origin of the case study group. These are also discussed in Chapter 9, section 9.4 and were undertaken to support my better understanding of the participants' origins. Empirical data was not collected during these trips. They were necessary to 'place' respondents, and further, they were an attempt to avoid my subjective conclusions in terms of why respondents migrated to the UK and specifically West Yorkshire.

As is discussed in section 3.4 above, the theoretical approach I developed in this study does reflect an epistemological preference for the use of qualitative methods. My mainly qualitative approach is supportive of my case study and research that has been undertaken. Further, the sensitive use of quantitative methods, for instance, the reflection on statistics and the closed questions in the Life-Grid, demonstrates how a case study approach can usefully combine qualitative and quantitative approaches. The use of quantitative methods has been sensitive to the case study's needs, and are designed to complement the qualitative data gained, however, their use does demonstrate a flexibility in my research design.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

As Mason (1996:135) argues, the use of qualitative methods aids with the production of certain kinds of explanations for social phenomena, but not for others. The limitation of qualitative methods includes the possible lack of representativeness of the data. It is not possible, for instance, to extrapolate findings from a study of twenty-two Latvian EU workers living in West Yorkshire and to apply this to all Latvian EU workers in the UK. No matter how representative my research group is, twenty-two is not a big enough sample to provide evidence that can be verified or falsified if the research is redone. The aim of my research was not to be representative nor to provide data that could be generalised. I have mainly used qualitative methods in this case study because they allow for an in-depth understanding of a group of people, which is precisely the remit of this thesis.

I used a mixed method approach in my case study which, although largely based on qualitative methodologies, did use quantitative data when it was useful. For example, I used

statistical data from the UK Government DWP (2018) database. This data enabled an understanding of the number of post 2007 Latvian EU workers in West Yorkshire. Arguably not all immigrants moving from Latvia countries will apply for a national insurance number, for reasons such as being part of a 'worker's family'. The use of the DWP data was also useful compared to UK Census Data because that data does not specify country specific nationality.

The use of statistics alone could only give an indication of the number of Latvian EU workers in West Yorkshire. This was helpful in providing a frame to visualise the potential research cohort. It was also necessary to examine secondary research in Latvian EU migration. An example of such research, which is expanded upon in Chapter 5 section 5.4, is provided by Smith & Swain (2010) who argue that the impetus for emigration from Latvia since 2008 was largely driven by economic reasons. This gave me the idea that questions about access to work in Latvia and personal economic issues, could provide a useful talking area as Smith and Swain argue that migration was driven by the global economic crisis.

The next chapter, the first of four empirical chapters, considers reasons for migration and there is a focus on crises as this was an area which was demonstrated as important from an initial analysis of the empirical data I gathered.





## **Chapter 5: Motivations for the Latvian Participants' emigration to the UK**

In this, the first of four analytical chapters, participants' reasons for leaving the Latvian field and their initial journey to the UK are explored. In terms of my case study group's migration, the empirical data suggested that crises played a part in their decision to emigrate and crises are discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 5. How the participants dealt with different crises became an increasingly important area for analysis, as it was discussed by twenty of the twenty-two participants. Therefore, when the discussion on reasons for emigration was broached, the participants placed their choice for emigration at the foot of differing crises. In terms of the participants' perception, they consider that they made a rational choice to emigrate. However, the extent to which people make conscious rational decisions is based in *doxa* and must be understood as informed by *habitus*. Therefore, it is important to question the perceptions of my participants. Logically, for instance, if the economic crisis led to their emigration, then it should have led to massive social upheaval. As Bourdieu (1990) states:

Unfortunately, people apply to my analyses – and this is the principal source of misunderstanding – the very alternatives that the notion of *habitus* is meant to exclude, those of consciousness and the unconscious, of explanation by determining causes or by final causes. (1990:10)

The participants' *habitus* informed their decision to emigrate, and as is explained in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5, their decision may have seemed like a rational choice to them, but it would have been the reasonable choice given their circumstances and based on their *habitus*. Therefore, the participants in my study were not reacting

consciously, (rationally), or unconsciously to their situation, but in a non-rational way based on the 'best-fit' for their circumstances.

Thus, as Akopova and Ruža (2010) argue, whilst people emigrate for work from Latvia, migration is not solely for socio-economic reasons, but socio-psychological ones as well. Moreover, they posit that migration will lead to a change in attitudes among immigrants; and it will influence the: 'intellectual, social and economic development' of Latvia, (2010:475). They argue that the difference between the economic situation of the older EU member states and Latvia presented an irresistible urge for young economically active people to migrate for work, stating, for instance, that: 'tens of thousands' (2010:475) of young people have migrated. They state the number of immigrants from Latvia: 'exceeded 90,000 by 2000' (2010:475). Further, Hazans *et al.* (2013:35) state: 'In recent years, Latvia has experienced waves of intense emigration, establishing it as one of worst-affected among EU/EFTA member states.' Hazans *et al.* further detail how this migration has been to 'Western Europe' to countries such as the UK and Germany. The International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2016) describes how impactful emigration from Eastern European countries has been to their economies, exacerbating recession and preventing growth. The potential effect of Brexit on Eastern European workers, whose home economies have suffered due to what Hazans *et al.* (2013:53) describe as the 'great recession' of 2007 - 2011, is arguably greater than to those EU workers whose origin countries did not suffer to the same extent.

Using a Bourdieusian frame, in this chapter I reflect on the types and forms of capital that the case study group used to emigrate to the UK and West Yorkshire. I use this frame, because on initial analysis the empirical data suggested that people coped differently depending on their social, cultural and economic capital. As discussed in Chapter 2, this

approach echoes the application of Bourdieu's capital paradigm to class mobility situations employed by Savage (2015). The point of departure from Savage (2015) is that I use habitus and capital to understand reasons for migration and settlement. The reasoning here is that mobility from one field to another, whether between class or countries, is experienced differently depending on a person's capital.

Initially, in this chapter, there is an outline of the political socio-economic circumstances influencing the participants' habitus development over time in Latvia. There is an understanding of the participants' spatial habitus as informed by their history, individual experiences (taken as intersecting with ethnicity and class), plus events in their broader society. This is discussed in terms of absolute and relative advantages which are defined in Chapter 2 of this thesis, with reference to Hu and Yin (2021).

As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.7, it is important to understand relative accumulation of capital within a particular field. This is exemplified here through an understanding how the global economic downturn affected the emerging capitalist economies of Eastern Europe, such as Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania differently to the more established capitalist democracies in the European Union (EU). Hazans (2019:64) details how these new capitalist democracies experienced the greatest economic downturn, compared to the rest of the EU, explaining that in Latvia the downturn is referred to as the 'great recession'. Hence, an understanding of the social, political and economic background of the participants is important to interpret their migration circumstances and the crises which they describe as preceding migration.

Following a consideration below of how societal circumstances specific to the Latvian field influence the participants' habitus, I evaluate participants' relative use of social, cultural and

economic capital. This is done with the aim of providing an awareness of the different reasons the Latvian participants gave for moving to West Yorkshire, the interconnected nature of these reasons and how they relate to crises and further, to the class specifics of participants.

### **5.1 Habitus and the Soviet Legacy in the Latvian Field.**

Habitus is argued in this thesis to rest on participants' capital. However, it is also considered here as linked to history in economic, political and social legacy terms. This thesis is useful for demonstrating how habitus differs between different fields, affecting the type, form and accumulation of capital for those within it. For the participants, the Soviet legacy in Latvia contributed to their lack of capital accumulation. This is demonstrated by Hazans (2019:41) who describes how Soviet and then Russian colonialism rested on:

1. Centralised decision making on the allocation of resources, including the labour force; 2. Mandatory prescription of their workplace for university graduates for a period of at least 3 years; 3. Russian language as the official language in all parts of the Soviet Union; 4. The standard of living being higher in Latvia (and other Baltic republics) than elsewhere in the Soviet Union (except Moscow and Leningrad). Emigration from Latvia under the Soviet regime was almost impossible. The exception (which became possible under international pressure) was the emigration of Jews: about 13,000 emigrated to Israel, Germany, the US and Canada between 1968 and 1980, and another 16,000 left in the subsequent 9 years up to 1989. (Hazans, 2019: 41)

Latvians therefore experienced the centralising of their political economy to Moscow and away from Latvia, the instigating of Russian as the official language, larger wages to attract immigration (Russians), and those with degrees were forced to work in prescribed sectors. This resulted in positive immigration, until 1992 when Latvia gained its independence.

After 1992 there was a move from a Soviet Command style economy to a neoliberal one. As Hazans (2019) illustrates, after that date emigration rose rapidly, rising to '6.7%' (2019:41) by the end of the twentieth century. He also describes how Latvia moved from having Russian as the lingua franca, the official language used by government offices and all aspects of civil culture, businesses etc. to Latvian. Inability to communicate in Latvian was incompatible to people's employment. Furthermore, Hazans describes how:

Many of the large manufacturing enterprises and research institutes closed down in the early 1990s. Some of them had previously been part of the Soviet military-industrial complex which had employed large numbers of the post-war immigrants and their descendants. (Hazans, 2019:42)

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, the move to neoliberalism without the historical development of economic safeguards that benefited other non-colonised European states, exacerbated the effects of the economic downturn. As Ikstens (2011) describes, the recessions lead to severe measures:

Drastic austerity measures introduced at the advice of the IMF reduced the quality of life of many working persons, particularly those employed in the public sector. Funding for many public programmes was cut, while the level of unemployment touched the 15 percent mark. (Ikstens, 2011:1039)

As habitus differs, it must follow that not all crises are experienced at the same time or in the same way. Walby (2015:14) defines crisis as ‘an event that has the potential to cause a large detrimental change to the social system’, but my concern is whether, depending on relative habitus, crises will influence people differently, even within the same society.

Eighteen of the twenty-two participants in this study were aged twenty-six to thirty-six and one was aged eighteen to twenty-five. Therefore, when Latvia left the Soviet Union in 1992, they would have been young children or not yet born. Hence, the habitus communicated to them by the significant adults with whom they passed their formative years was engendered by the Soviet system. An example of this form of communication of capital was provided by Roman, a man aged 26 - 36, with Latvian as a first language, who describes the stories he was told growing up in Latvia:

About the USSR occupation, I heard of this story about one lady who was taken to Siberia, and she was there alone in a hut in the forest, like, overnight. When she came out in the morning her hair had turned completely white. It was so terrible in there, like rats and other things. [Roman]

This quote demonstrates how the Latvian field of experience in which the participants and their parents gained their habitus was (negatively) informed by the Soviet system. Older participants recall living under Soviet rule. For example, Mutty, a woman with Latvian as her first language, aged 58 - 67, reflected on life growing-up under Soviet occupation:

When I was a kid, we had nothing like kids today. We had it hard, not enough food. I grow up scared, yes, I can say that, because we trust no one. We didn't know who would tell Cheka anything about us. [Muttu]

Cheka is the name that Latvians use for the Soviet Secret Police known as the KGB. Skultans (2001:323) describes how: 'Moral outrage is re-ignited through the encounters with the KGB files.'. The files Skultans refers to describe at least 4,500 KGB Latvian spies living amongst the Latvian population. These files were released in Riga after the Russians withdrew in 1992. However, according to Streips (2014), the full KGB documents were not due to become available to the public until after they had been through a process of scientific research that ended on 31st May 2018. According to Riga News (2007) there was debate over releasing all the documents to the public earlier, however, there were arguments in the Latvian Parliament about how this potentially sensitive information could ignite problems focused on those who had collaborated and spied on their neighbours. Pettai (2019:4) notes how:

'the realization that many esteemed (and often still active) Latvian writers, composers, conductors, journalists, musicians, academics and church leaders had in one way or another cooperated and conspired with the Soviet state security apparatus – rocked Latvian society the most'. (Pettai, 2019: 4)

Pettai (2019) describes how the cards and paperwork identifying the conspirators did not detail the type and nature of work that they did nor why they worked for the KGB. In terms of effects upon Latvian society, Pettai describes how there were concerns that the data in



the KGB documents would be taken out of context and the situation of the collaborators and the pressures they may have felt to work for the KGB not understood. However, Pattai argues that most of the journalists and researchers with an interest in the KGB material, grew up in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and they have a good understanding of the nature of the field of Russian control in Latvia at that time.

My participants describe different aspects of life under the USSR latterly Russia, that they experienced themselves or learned from family members. For instance, Mutty described her life as a child, but also reflected on her parents' situation in the years prior to her birth:

Things were hard. But I think they have always been pretty hard. When the Soviets occupied Latvia, my parents lived in the countryside, and they had to struggle to make ends meet. During the winters there wasn't much to eat, sometimes only some dried vegetables. So that is the life I grow-up in.

[Mutty]

Mutty explained that in the past people blamed the Soviets for shortages and as described above, she stated that townspeople were 'always watching' and she grew-up with a fear that she and her family could be reported to the KGB. A lack of trust of other people was raised as an issue by some of the other participants. For example, this feeling was described by Rena, aged 26 - 36 who has Latvian as a first language, as arising from being part of a community where 'everyone knows you'. Rena described how when she was growing-up she was told not to trust her neighbours.

Even if they don't speak to Cheka, you know they might just say wrong thing to someone who goes to Cheka. [Rena]

This can be argued to be part of a historical legacy gained under a Soviet system that, as mentioned above, employed KGB spies (Riga News 2007). Aiva, a woman with Latvian as a first language, aged 26 - 36, also expressed that she was still weary of other Latvians. Aiva, echoing Mutty, described that because of their past experiences in Latvia, people were 'always watching and judging', she stated:

There is quite a lot of back-stabbing happening as well. So, you know, lately I find myself, I don't want to say, avoiding Latvians, but I'm not necessarily trying to make new friends who are Latvians. I have my five friends who I am totally fine with, but I'm not looking to make new Latvian friends. I have a few Polish friends; I have a few English friends. [Aiva]

Latvians in West Yorkshire form a loose community based on aspects of cultural similarities, such as language but also a shared history. My interpretation of Aiva's reluctance to form new friendships with other Latvians is that this could be due to a shared history of Soviet occupation that included KGB informants who lived (and spied) within their neighbourhoods.

Participants described the Soviet occupation of Latvia as leaving a cultural legacy. For instance, in the first tranche of interviews, Roman observed his relative capital in terms of employment prospects in the Riga area of Latvia:

They moved Russian speakers in to show their power, now those people and their families don't see why they should speak Latvian. They want me

to speak Russian in my own country. You know, it's stupid, if I go to Riga, it's mostly in Riga, its Russian peoples, not many Latvians and they think we need to talk with them in Russian. If I have to go work, they are looking at me. I have to speak Russian language. In Latvia, right, the same candidate can speak Russian, even if he can't speak Latvian, he will get the job. They give job who speak Russian. [Roman]

Here Roman provides an insight into the importance of history in field development. Latvia's colonial past influences the shape of the socioeconomic and political field today. Further, as Roman demonstrates, it continues to affect social, economic and cultural capital.

The Latvian field was explored in Chapter 2.7 and argued (Gilbert 2013; Nollendorfs *et al.* 2016) to have a history influenced by the residue of Soviet colonialism.

History is important as it produces the form and shape of a current field. In this section, there has been an exploration of how the participants' habitus legacy and accumulation of capital rested on their history. The reasonable choices (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) my participants made to emigrate are based on a habitus gained in the Latvian field. How participants' habitus continue to be shaped and developed in the UK is investigated in Chapters 6 and 7, however in terms of reasons for leaving Latvia, those choices were made based on a habitus formed in a Latvian field that is heavily influenced by past Soviet colonialism. Below in sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and Chapter 5 my participants' choices for moving to the UK are explored vis-à-vis the crises they experienced. The participants' personal crises discussed below, are linked to the economic recession of 2007 onward, and this is

explored in 4.1.1 as exacerbated by the Latvian economic and political field. That field, developed in part from a Soviet economic and political legacy and the move to a new neoliberal one, created a political economy that was one of the worst affected in the EU during the 2007 recession (Gilbert 2013).

### **5.1.1 Language, Habitus and Soviet Legacy.**

Participants in my study experienced crises in Latvia irrespective of whether Latvian or Russian was their first language. Mirna, who has Russian as a first language, could not afford her mortgage in Latvia. Mutty, who has Latvian as a first language, states above how it was not possible to earn enough to live. Oliver, who has both Russian and Latvian parents, describes how his family could not pay for him to continue studying when his university grant was withdrawn. Joanne, who has Latvian as a first language, describes in detail in 4.6 below, how she had to care for younger siblings and an alcoholic father and how her mother had to work in the UK. Their habitus and capital, therefore class, had more bearing on their ability to manage crises than their ethnic language ability. For all participants aged 26- 36, apart from Art, there was no opportunity to continue with their Higher Education qualifications started in Latvia. Some had started to study at university, for instance Nadez, a woman aged 26 – 36 with Russian as a first language, Oliver, Roman, Ada, Rait, after one term had their funding removed. As mentioned above, Oliver could not pay for his own studies, and he described how government cuts in university funding after the 2007 recession affected him, ‘They told me I had a scholarship, I got top marks to study law but after one term it was removed.’ Other participants explained that they did not have an opportunity under the Soviet system to gain economic capital, for instance, they and their parents could not buy their own homes. They argue that the same people who had money

under the Soviet system, do so today: 'You get the wrong people in the government and it's greed. They don't put money where it should go' (Joanne). Rait, a man aged 26 – 36 with Russian as a first language, stated: 'It's the same people in government now as before 1992'. Although some of the participants alluded to discrimination in terms of first language and access to the workplace in Latvia, this discrimination was described by Russian speakers in the countryside and Latvian speakers from Riga, the capital city. However, both those with Russian and Latvian as a first language described a lack of opportunity, poverty, and personal crisis circumstances.

Additionally, population differences in terms of language use are considerably different between urban and rural areas. Even in Riga, where those with Russian as a first language constitute 30% of the population (Lulle 2016), the Russian speaking Latvian participants in this study often did not have enough cultural capital to overcome the crisis created by the recession. For instance, Mirna, mentioned above, described how she was 'forced to leave [to go to the UK] for work', because she was not paid enough in her job as a teacher of Russian Literature in Latvia. Mirna could not pay her mortgage, nor easily afford food for her daughters. As Mirna stated,

My husband lost his job in industry. All the industry jobs went in Latvia because of the recession. I did not know what to do, I used to cry and cry each month because we could not pay the loan on the house. He left and I could not even feed us anymore. [Mirna]

The situation in Latvia that led to my participants making the reasonable choice to emigrate, is comparable for those with Latvian grandparents and those who have colonising Russians as their ancestors. It is useful to consider Bourdieu (1998) reflection on habitus

development in a Soviet occupied state. This is discussed in more detail in Chapters 2.1 2.3 and 4.1.4. Bourdieu's argument is that in a Soviet state, capital accumulation does not rest on cultural, economic and social capital but on political capital. It is not possible to accumulate capital in a totalitarian Soviet system in the same manner one would in a non-totalitarian state. Therefore, my participants, whether Russian Latvians, or Latvians would have a historical legacy based on their families' political history. This lack of ability to accumulate cultural, social and economic capital that could be used in times of recession was problematic for both those with Russian and Latvian heritage.

### **5.1.2 Language, ethnicity, and Soviet Legacy.**

Roman's quote above (p. 129-30) constructs a discourse of a divided nation, consisting of those who, like him, he considers as belonging in Latvia and those who were moved in by a foreign power to colonise. One continuing axis of division is linguistic dominance. Roman's observation is reinforced, to some degree, by my own experience. During two trips to Riga (Latvia), I was unable to use Latvian to communicate with some older generation residents, as they preferred to speak in Russian. Further, a discussion (in English) with a taxi driver from the ex-Soviet and largely Russian speaking province of Kazakhstan, some 2,320 miles from Latvia, illuminated the attitude of some Russian speaking workers from the old Soviet Union in Riga. The taxi driver appeared to have little appreciation of the social history of Latvia and expressed being unable to understand why his Latvian customers often refused to speak in Russian. However, these observations only partially reflect the complexity of the Latvian field. For instance, my findings from

other participants, discussed in sections 5.2, 5.4 and the conclusion of Chapter 5 below, are that both Russian Latvians and Lativans with Latvian as a first language, all experienced similar circumstances prior to emigration and after migration. Their experiences rested on their lack of accumulation of cultural, social and economic capital as displayed through their class as opposed to any differentiated ethnic experiences within the Latvian field.

At the time of the Soviet era, Ivlevs (2013:63) explains that Russian was the expected language of interethnic discourse, even though there were 'two official languages' in Latvia. Ivlevs (2013:63) states that using Russian 'assured better jobs' and that it dominated both the economic and public spheres. This situation resulted in many Latvians becoming bilingual and all the participants in this study are at least trilingual, speaking Latvian, Russian and English. However, it is argued (Schmid et al. 2004, 2008; Ivlevs 2013) that Russians remained largely monolingual. As Roman demonstrates above, this legacy has created a situation for some in which there is a lack of acceptance of cultural diversity and a lack of appreciation of cultural capital, such as a good command of the Latvian language.

The relationship between ethnicity, language and cultural capital is, however, as I stated above, a complex one in Latvia. Lulle (2016) describes how since 1995 HE courses in Latvia have become almost exclusively conducted in Latvian. Therefore, gaining entry to HE is now reliant on Latvian language skills. Further, as Lulle (2016: 599) states: 'during the profound crisis in 2009–2011, a person without much Latvian language knowledge had a competitive disadvantage to keep the job.' Lulle argues that this 'competitive disadvantage' has led to 'ethnic Latvians' having higher earnings compared to ethnic minorities such as ethnic

Russians. This further demonstrates how Roman's interpretation is based on his personal experience, but also illustrates how those with Russian or Latvian ancestry could interpret their relative advantage differently. My findings, as discussed here, are that whether my participants had Russian or Latvian as a first language, it was their class, not ethnicity, that provided advantage, their experiences of poverty and crises are close, moreover, poverty did not, in my findings, discriminate between ethnicities.

### **5.1.3 Architecture, Habitus and Soviet Legacy.**

Habitus is formed overtime and is reinforced through different aspects of a field. This could be language, as discussed in Chapter 5.1.2, the political economy and architecture. In this section there is a brief discussion on how the Soviet legacy is also evident in architectural form in the Latvian capital Riga. This is demonstrated below in Figure 8 where there is a photograph of the old university Science Building in Riga, the capital of Latvia. This was built by the Soviets during the Stalin era and is a lasting reminder of occupation. Identical buildings were built throughout the Soviet Union and in occupied territories. The photograph shows a Latvian built house in front of the Soviet building which towers over it. I call this photograph 'architectural domination'. The size and imposing nature of the building provided a visualisation of Soviet authority when it was built and continues as a reminder of the legacy of Soviet occupation. This is a visual representation of my participants' habitus legacy. Their reasonable choice to emigrate is based on their accumulation of capital, including a habitus legacy based in a past dominated by an authoritarian regime.

Figure 8: The University Science Building





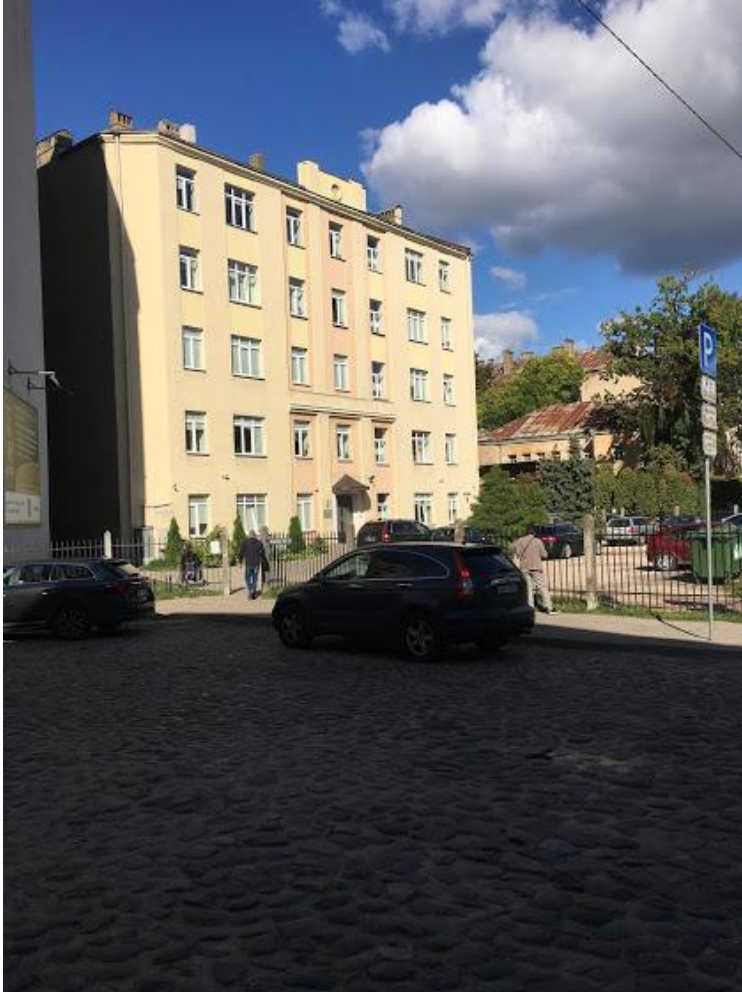
Lyndsey Kramer 2019 Architectural Domination

#### **5.1.4 Lack of accumulation of capital, Soviet Legacy and migration.**

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bourdieu (1998) describes the Soviet field as a social environment within which there exists a field of political and economic power that controls access to, and accumulation of, capital. As Bourdieu (1998:16) states, with reference to a Soviet type of field: 'When other forms of accumulation are more or less completely controlled, political capital becomes the primordial principle of differentiation.' This is reflected by my participants, who described their emigration as necessary because they did not have the capital needed to remain in Latvia. In Latvia, my participants could not rely on social capital, such as friends or family with whom they could comfortably reside, nor did they have cultural capital such as skills and qualifications that they needed to gain well-paid work, and they did not have economic capital, in the form of enough money to pay for accommodation and other necessities. As Hazans (2019) argues, people emigrated from

Latvia during the recession because they could not reasonably be expected to remain, it was impossible for them to live on the money they could earn or benefits they could receive. People did not have accumulated capital because the nature of Soviet colonialism prevented them from acquiring it.

Figure 9: Unemployment Benefit Office in Riga



Lyndsey Kramer 2019.

When the participants moved to the UK between 2007 - 2015, Latvian state social security benefit was amongst the lowest in Europe and was €64 per month in 2013 (EU 2013). Most of those interviewed stated poverty, an extremely low minimum wage in Latvia and a lack of opportunity as the reasons they moved to West Yorkshire. They did not have savings, the

accumulated capital to survive in Latvia. This is discussed in more detail in section 4.3 below.

Mirna, a woman with Russian as her first language, aged 58 – 67 who was a schoolteacher in Latvia before emigration, stated that:

My pension would be 250 euros per month in Latvia. My friend only earn just 500 euros a month as a schoolteacher. That friend live in a studio flat'. Mirna continued, 'If I don't move then I lose my house in Latvia, I have no choice. [Mirna]

Further, Mutty stated about her move to the UK, 'Like I said, I had no choice. It became impossible to pay the bills. My wages were very low.' Most of my participants were aged under twenty when they moved to the UK. They did not have a history of employment in Latvia and therefore were only entitled to unemployment benefits at the basic rate. They described how they could not find work in Latvia and were unable to continue in university, for example, Oliver, a man with mixed Russian and Latvian heritage, currently aged 26 - 36, described how he was encouraged by his family to emigrate to the UK when his funding for university was removed, 'My mother say try and earn some money for yourself for your studies'. Oliver's situation vis-à-vis crises is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The participants overall did not want to leave Latvia, lack of opportunity and financial difficulties were exacerbated by the financial crisis, again, this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

As Rena stated:

I did not want to leave Latvia as I come from a very beautiful area near to the Russian border. However, even though I was managing a warehouse, I was the only one working in my family and we were struggling financially. [Rena]

Further, Tiberius stated,

‘I needed to earn money! There were no opportunities in Latvia. It was really hard there, still is.’

The situation of my participants was exacerbated by their, and their families’ lack of opportunity to accumulate capital in the decades during the Soviet/Russian occupation and directly afterward.

Only the political elite, the ‘nomenklatura’ could acquire all forms of capital during the time of the Soviet occupation, and this was using their political capital. Therefore, it is not just stories from their families' history that have imprinted upon the participants, but also that these stories are evidence of a system where certain forms of capital did not exist without a person having an elite political capital. Further, as is illustrated in 4.1.1 the analysis of Roman’s interpretation of his situation and ethnicity, my findings are that it is not just those with Latvian as a first language, but also those participants with Russian as a first language, often the children and grandchildren of those sent from other countries and regions under Soviet rule, who do not appear to have accumulated capital acquired from their parents and grandparents. My participants, whether with Russian as a first language or Latvian, describe either the stopping of their university course funding and as a result an inability to financially support themselves through university or an overtly harsh reliance of their families upon them, aged under twenty years, to financially support the whole family. Only Art described having a job in Latvia that could support him.

Therefore, all of my participants, with the exception of Art, expressed some form of capital poverty exacerbated by crises, as a motivational factor for their emigration. This poverty

experience by all but one of my participants echoes the OECD (2022) findings that there is an existence of a significant wealth divide in Latvia (2022:15):

Income and wealth inequality are quite pronounced: Latvia's latest Gini estimate was 34.5 in 2020, higher than most other OECD countries. The share of net household wealth held by the top decile was around 60% in 2015, fourth highest out of 27 OECD countries. Absolute poverty is widespread, also in relative terms. (OECD, 2022:15)

This absolute poverty created a poverty situation for participants. As Oliver stated, 'My family could not pay for my college.' Further, Melinda stated, 'I came to the UK in 2010. Partly because of the recession in Latvia. Even if you could get a job there, the money wasn't enough to live properly, still isn't.'

Essentially, my participants describe how there is no legacy of home ownership, public school education or accumulation of economic, cultural and social capital that could overcome the vagaries of the financial crisis of 2007. This applies to twenty-one of my participants. As Hazans (2013) argues, it would have been unreasonable for people to remain in Latvia during the recession of 2007 onwards. This is important to my study, as the cultural, social and economic capital that the participants do have, does not have the same legacy as that of such capital in the UK, and their migration from the Latvia field to the UK field, is therefore further complicated.

#### **5.1.5 The recession, Soviet legacy, and neoliberalism.**

Hazans (2019) provides an account of the Latvian economic, social and political field after the start of the 2007 global recession and links this directly to emigration choice. He argues

that even Latvians who had not considered emigration did so after the recession. For those Latvians, emigration became the only reasonable choice. He writes:

High and persistent unemployment, a weak social security system, lost perspectives – these were the factors that converged to make emigration a real option in the minds of many Latvians, even those who had not considered such a possibility before. (Hazans 2011, 2012, 2013). There were two kinds of these ‘new movers’: (i) individuals who were inherently not very mobile for whom this was the only way out of financial difficulties; and (ii) people who were not satisfied with developments in Latvia and with their own prospects there, even if they were not experiencing economic hardship at that moment. In this way, the post-accession migration system was substantially transformed and expanded. (Hazans, 2019:53)

One participant who had not considered emigration until the recession of 2007 was Mirna. She was working as a teacher and had a 25% wage cut, she could no longer survive in Latvia. Invoking her forced move, Mirna stated that she used to, ‘cry and cry’ when she first came to the UK and that:

One day I was crying so much in my cleaning job that the manager asked me, “what is wrong?” but I had no words to explain how homesick I felt. [Mirna]

Mirna describes the recession as having dire consequences for her as she had taken out a mortgage for the first time. The deregulated neoliberal economy adopted by Latvia after it left the Soviet command economy in 1991 meant that there were no effective controls to

prevent interest rates from rising in Latvia. Mirna describes how people like her, property buyers for the first time, with no family history of accumulated wealth in terms of property investment (due to the move from a Soviet System) were affected by the interest rate rise. As a result of what Iksten (2011:1042) describes as: 'the collapse of Latvia's economy in 2009', interest rates rose whilst wages were either frozen or were reduced. Indeed, Iksten describes how the Latvian government had to: 'identify and implement policies that would lead to a stable and sustainable economic recovery' (ibid.:1043). Wages in the public sector, including those for teachers such as Mirna, were reduced by 25 percent (ibid.). This situation supports Perugini and Pompei's (2017:40) argument, that during any economic crises there can be a: 'downward convergence of permanent wages toward the lowest level of the temporary employed'. As a teacher, Mirna experienced a situation that changed from one where she could survive financially to one where she could not. The relative advantage, in terms of being a professional, that Mirna had experienced was lost during the recession and the Latvian government's austerity measures. Further, she related that her advantage, in terms of being someone who had gained historical cultural capital through Russian language skill and a degree in Russian Literature during the Soviet occupation, was eroded after 1992, with the renewed focus on Latvian as the primary language in Latvia following independence.

Mirna describes how prior to 1991, she experienced relative advantage (Hu and Lin 2019) in terms of her habitus acquired from her Russian ethnicity, which meant she accessed a degree course and public sector career. Mirna also had Latvian citizenship, as her family had settled in Latvia before 1939. However, this relative advantage was not sufficient to enable

Mirna to remain in Latvia and work there. As Mirna explains, being a professional and having a degree does not mean that one can pay rent on a one-bedroom flat in Latvia. Further, she explained how, although prior to 1992, being a Russian language teacher meant that she was always employed, it did not result in the same respect, that is cultural capital, or economic capital that a Communist party official could obtain. Further, she considered that changes in the political system meant that the economic repercussions from the crisis of 2007 created an environment where cultural and social capital in Latvia were still not enough to guarantee economic success. Iksen (2011:1043) continues stating that there was a: 'seemingly never-ending process of fiscal consolidation, or, simply put, reduction in public spending'. This reduction was reflected in a curtailment of financial provision, not just in terms of teachers' wages, but in other public sectors, such as university funding. Of the participants aged 26 - 36 taking part in my research (18 of 22 in total), sixteen, both those with Latvian and Russian as a first language, described a lack of ability to continue with their college education or university degrees in Latvia because of a removal of their funding. The recession, therefore, affected most of the participants in their ability to access Higher Education. Regardless of whether participants had a habitus based in a Russian or Latvian ethnicity, this made no difference to their ability to access education after the recession of 2007.

However, Bourdieu argues (1998) political capital could be gained from being a member of the communist party during the Soviet occupation. Although this could have been a possibility for the parents of participants, even participants who were born in and experienced occupation did not perceive that they had political habitus. The participants' perception is that they personally did not have a long-term benefit gained from this from



political capital, whether they had Russian as a first language, or Latvian. Coupled with the lack of political capital from parents, which is argued to be the form of capital available to those with habitus gained in a Soviet System (Bourdieu 1998), is the historic legacy of a total lack of capital under Stalin's totalitarian USSR. This point is discussed in Chapter 2, where it is demonstrated through literature analysis that during the Stalin Soviet era in Latvia, between 1942 and 1953, the existence of totalitarianism effectively meant that no notable, differentiated capital could exist or be gained. The importance of this observation for this study, is that the participants not only have a lack of accumulated positive capital, but that, in many respects there is a legacy of negative capital. This is exemplified by, for instance, a lack of trust of others (leading to a lack of social capital), lack of knowledge or appreciation of niche interests or desire for cultural goods (resulting in a lack of cultural capital) and a legacy of the loss of wealth once owned by the middle class, who, as Arendt (2017) illustrates, cease to exist through violence in a totalitarian state. Even niche ethnic and religious differences are not tolerated in a totalitarian state. Arendt (2017) argues that totalitarianism leads to people experiencing a sense of normlessness, a lack of connection and social history. The habitus legacy is of importance to this study, as it provides the backdrop to the capital that the participants currently have and suggests reasons for the differences in accumulated cultural, social and economic capital they may have. This lack of capital is explored in this chapter vis-à-vis crises.

## **5. 2 Field changes and Latvian habitus from 1992.**

The recession and its effect on the Latvian economy is discussed in more detail below. It is argued, however (Iksen, 2011), that it was the late move to a neoliberal capitalist economy

in 1992, combined with a global economic downturn from 2007, that created a greater recession in Latvia than in other EU countries apart from Lithuania. The economic and political changes in Latvia were enabled, as Walby (2015) details, through deregulation of economic safeguards, which had grown with the development of capitalism and in response to issues such as recession. The implementation of deregulation began to supersede the economic regulations introduced as part of the Bretton Woods agreement introduced in 1944 to safeguard capitalist economies and regulate finance after the global financial crash of 1929. These safeguards were removed in the 1980s, 'to free up markets' (Walby, 2015:3). This practically operationalised the ideology of free trade and laissez-faire economics and politics. My Latvian participants describe how prices increased in Latvia after 1992 and the introduction of free market economics, as Sab, a woman with Russian as a first language states, 'In Latvia the only thing that is cheap is the alcohol, like the vodka or Riga Balsam. You can buy it here in the Russian shop actually.'. Ada, a woman with Latvian as her first language stated, 'Everything is really expensive in Latvia, even kids' clothes cost much more, but wages are much less.' The older participants added a retrospective element to the changes in prices and the opening of markets in Latvia after the move to a neoliberal economic model, as Mirna describes, 'In Latvia now I can buy a house, but it cost too much after recession when wages were cut.' Further, Mutty stated, 'Things were bad under the Soviets, we sometimes had no food in shops, now there is plenty of food, but no money to buy it!'

Countries emerging from Soviet Command political economies to capitalist ones from the 1980s onwards entered a neoliberal capitalist field (Walby 2015). Latvia moved directly from a political economic field which was Soviet Command to a neoliberal economy that had

never had the Bretton Woods agreements in place. Even though the safeguards introduced by the Bretton Woods agreement had begun to be removed in other capitalist economies from the 1980s onwards, the field of political economy in those countries that had been signatory to it, such as the UK, have a political economic habitual legacy influenced by the agreement. This was not the situation in Latvia and, as Hazans (2013) describes, there was a subsequent crash of the Latvian economy. This matters, because, as described in 4.1.5 above, the lack of safeguards meant that the recession hit a Latvian population with little or no accumulated capital particularly hard. Only one of my participants had bought property during the period after 1992, and before emigration to the UK, when Latvians became able to do so, and as discussed in 4.1.2, she, Mirna, found it impossible to pay her mortgage after the economic crash of 2007. Hazans (2013) details how the Latvian government had to reduce public spending. As the situation of Mirna discussed above and in section 4.1.2 exemplifies, the move towards neoliberal economics from a command economy and the impact of recession is an important element in understanding the latter formation of the participants' habitus and the history of crises as determinants in their decisions to migrate to the UK.

In this section I argued that crises led twenty of the participants to consider that they had no choice but to leave Latvia. These participants now have 'routine' (Savage 2015:68) jobs in the UK. The 'routine jobs' consisted of roles such as: non-specialist, non-management and non-professional work, warehouse work, factory work and lorry driving. Further, even if they had relative cultural advantage in terms of professional jobs in Latvia, for instance Mirna and Eve (a woman aged 37 – 47 with Latvian as a first language), both of whom had professional jobs in Latvia (that demanded degree-level qualifications), ended up with

routine jobs in the UK. Additionally, after 2007, they did not have economic capital in Latvia even with professional jobs. In Latvia, a professional degree, and the cultural capital it provides, does not equate to a well-paid job, even if it does lead to professional work. Moreover, those participants with degrees either gained or started during the Soviet Union's Occupation of Latvia, used their relative capital in terms of their knowledge of Russian to be able to access their university courses at that time. Now, Latvian is the primary language in Latvian universities.

### **5.2.1 Class and crises**

The notion of advantage in terms of class is relevant to this small group of participants. Art, who described his family as, 'well off' and as owning their home, did have some advantage as he could move to West Yorkshire and access a degree course without the pressure that other participants felt about having to support their extended family in Latvia. Further, he had somewhere to return to if his plans failed.

However, crises in Latvia and the participants' lack of ability to deal with them did prove a leveller. People's capital was often not enough to help them. Hence, even if they had professional experience and jobs that demanded professional qualifications, this did not ensure that they could survive in the recession in Latvia from 2007. This echoes Savage's (2021) observation on class changes that have occurred. Savage (2021) states that there has been a remaking of class distinctions with an almost blurring of working- and middle-class situations and absolute advantage does not always exist within or between classes and relative advantage changes over time. Therefore, habitus has a legacy, but field situations change.

The recession therefore hit most people in Latvian society, as opposed to mainly affecting the working class and those without accumulated wealth, because there were few people with such wealth. That is not to say that some people in Latvia did not and do not have such wealth, as both Rait and Joanne indicate above, the leadership of Latvia, in their opinion, remained the same during the Soviet era and after 1992.

Hardy (2014) provides an analysis of the introduction of capitalist economic structures and how uneven economic development in Central and Eastern Europe exacerbated the effects of the recession:

The integration of these countries with the global economy has taken place in different ways through trade, investment and finance. This has not only been a source of unevenness within and between them but has also determined the form and severity with which they have experienced the crisis. (Hardy, 2014:143).

This kind of crisis is exemplified by Lexi who came to the UK as an eighteen-year-old student:

I came to \_\_\_\_\_ in 2010 to get money for college. I couldn't afford to study in Latvia, just getting to college and buying something to eat was too expensive for me. At first, I was supposed just to come for the summer, to earn enough to carry on studying when I got back. I didn't really plan to stay here. When I went back to go to college, my mum lost her job in

Latvia. I needed to get money to help the family, so I came back to stay with my friends here and work. [Lexi]

The crises leading to Lexi's migration are situated in Latvia's political economic field. Lexi did not have enough money to go to college, and whilst she used her own cultural capital, for instance, confidence gained from language skill, she did not have the economic and social capital to continue to study in Latvia. Furthermore, a combination of crises, for instance, Lexi's lack of funds for college, her mother's loss of a job, and family poverty, affect Lexi personally because of her relative lack of capital. However, they all have roots in Latvia's political and economic history.

### **5.3 Life-changing crises experienced by the participants.**

Fourteen of my participants stated that poverty was a major factor influencing their move to the UK, six stated financial reasons and six the recession in Latvia. Often my participants stated more than one reason, 'to look for a job' was stated by ten of my participants. As Smith and Swain (2010) argue that the impetus for emigration from Latvia since 2008 was driven by the global economic crisis. They argue that the crisis affected Baltic State countries because of their smaller economies which became liberalised during the period after Russian occupation and joining the EU. Due to their relatively small size, Smith and Swain (2010) assert that Latvia and the other Baltic states rely heavily on external sources of energy, such as gas and electricity. Fuel was therefore a major import which rose in price. Further, Smith and Swain point-out that in the years prior to the 2008 economic crisis all Baltic States had experienced rapid growth, partly fuelled by mortgages and other credit. Smith and Swain (2010) argue that this growth was part of a 'housing market bubble' the

collapse of which in 2008 led to one of the largest banks in Latvia was facing serious liquidity constraints. This created the threat of property repossession and large financial losses for the banks that owned large stakes in the Latvian mortgage market.

Two participants, Art (introduced above) and Regi, a man aged 26 - 36, with Latvian as a first language, who both have HE qualifications in computer science gained in Latvia and in the UK, imagined that they could have an adventure, improve qualifications and have a professional career in the UK. However, to some degree, the history of financial crises in Latvia influenced Regi, who stated that he had planned to leave Latvia when he was still at school, because he anticipated that he would only ever earn low wages there. Therefore, although Regi had relative capital in Latvia, because he was earning what he described as a 'good wage for Latvia' he was still influenced by the crisis in the Latvian economy (discussed above). However, Art, a man aged 26 - 36, with Russian as a first language and who described how he is from a wealthier family, came to the UK for adventure, experience, to do a degree and for career development opportunities.

They both explained that developing their English language skills enabled work opportunities in other countries. They stated that the move for them was a positive one, and further, that they would consider moving to other countries, in the EU and outside of the EU.

As Art stated:

Improving my English was an important factor in moving to the UK. It means that I can work anywhere in the world. Now I am thinking about moving to Singapore and working in IT there. I have an interview there in January. In the meantime, I am going to Bangkok next week for a month, to get a feel for the place. [Art]

When the Latvian participants referred to poverty, they stated dire circumstances, for instance where they did not have enough money to feed themselves or to accommodate themselves. As Art stated:

My mother came to Britain to make some money and stayed just for a couple of months. She is a teacher and could only get factory work... I know other Latvians who have experienced some harsh things, but I am okay. [Art]

When Aiva had an offer from a friend to join her in West Yorkshire, she took the opportunity because:

I was like, you know what, I wouldn't even have food there. I could come to UK and if it didn't really work-out I always have a place to go back to.

[Aiva]

Therefore, Aiva had a small established social group in West Yorkshire before she came. The reasons that participants came to work in the UK are complex in the way that they interlink, for instance, although Aiva describes food poverty as a major issue, she also stated:

I came in August 2011 partially because of the downturn in the economy.

What happened was in summer 2009 my Mum passed away...[Aiva]

Aiva's mother was a lone parent and the family's major breadwinner. Although Aiva's sister worked, Aiva was only working in the summer holidays, as she was keen to finish her education. Without her mother's income, Aiva could not gain access to the food she needed or other essentials. This lack of economic capital, however, does not match the cultural



capital and habitus that Aiva could use in the UK. For instance, Aiva describes how her English language skill was at a high level, even before she emigrated to West Yorkshire. Aiva detailed how she wanted to do a degree in languages in Latvia. However, she had no money to do so and saw migration to the UK as an opportunity to develop her English language skills and in so doing, improve her career prospects in Latvia and other EU countries. For Aiva, the move to West Yorkshire was motivated primarily by basic poverty, this being exacerbated by the loss of her mother. However, the social capital that she had, a friend already living in West Yorkshire and that friend's knowledge of the processes involved in finding a job and a place to live, gave Aiva the security she needed to make the move. Further, Aiva's cultural capital in the form of her English language skill was a motivational factor in moving to the UK as opposed to any other EU country in the first instance. Aiva shared that she has Latvian friends working and living in Germany, and that this was also an option for her. However, her desire to build her English proficiency provided the impetus needed to choose the UK over other EU destinations.

One of my participants, Janis, a man aged 26 – 36 (arrived 2009), described how his two 'best friends' had already moved to West Yorkshire, and they asked him to join them, when he was only aged nineteen. The fact that he had a social network available for him in the UK was instrumental in his decision to come to the UK, and he used that social capital to negotiate the procedures necessary to work, such as opening a bank account and applying for a National Insurance number. His two friends found him a job in a factory. Janis clarifies his decision further by describing the housing situation he experienced in Latvia:

It was an easy decision for me because I could earn more money here. In Latvia it is hard to earn good money, and everything is so expensive. I had

to live with my sister and her husband because my dad didn't have room for me, and my mum died when I was 15. It was an easy decision for me to come to the UK. [Janis]

Therefore, once again, personal experience of tragedy exacerbated the experience of poverty in Latvia creating a situation where Janis was forced to live with his sibling. Janis explained that the best way to 'make a future' was to move to the UK. He said that if he remained in Latvia, he would not be able to get a place of his own. Initially Janis saved money in West Yorkshire by sharing a bedroom in a house with his two friends. Eventually, Janis saved enough to rent a place of his own and subsequently with his partner.

#### **5.4 How crises are associated with a lack of educational opportunities.**

As discussed above, for sixteen of the participants aged 26 – 36 the inability to continue in education past the age of eighteen represented a crisis factor for them.

The three older participants who grew-up and finished their education under the Soviet System have a different history in education and their habitus is correspondingly different. They all have BSc degrees, finished their education and were enabled, through subsequent professional training, to use their degrees in professions in Latvia. However, they explained how degree courses were limited and many modules were taught in Russian. This contrasts with the sixteen participants aged twenty-six to thirty-seven, (excluding Regi and Art as their aim was to finish their education in the UK), all of whom were anxious to finish their degrees in Latvia but could not do so because of a lack of money.

Lexi came to West Yorkshire with a college friend when she was eighteen. Lexi explained that her sister had come to work in West Yorkshire the year before, and Lexi knew the

people that she had stayed with. Both Lexi and her friend planned to stay in the UK for the summer and work to gain enough money to continue studying in Latvia. Lexi's friend's brother got jobs for them in a factory. This demonstrates the social capital that can be gained from extended friendship groups and the initial importance of, and reliance on, social networks in the migration process.

However, Lexi also explained how the job agencies in large towns in West Yorkshire have adapted to make the process of registering with them easier for people emigrating from Latvia. Lexi stated:

It is easy to sign-on with the agencies in -----, they will get you some work. If there are a few of you, it is easier to find somewhere to stay, because you can share the rent. [Lexi]

It is therefore a combination of social capital gained from personal support networks and the adaptation of job agencies in large towns in West Yorkshire that make it a particularly accessible destination for Latvian workers. My participants were able to use their cultural capital in terms of their Russian language skill. For instance, Lexi explained that there is often a Russian speaker who works for the job agency, which means that the process is made easier for EU workers who have arrived from ex-socialist occupied command economies in Eastern Europe, where even the younger migrants had to learn Russian as well as, for instance Latvian or Lithuanian, in school.

Therefore, in terms of cultural capital, Lexi, like all the participants, can speak and read Latvian, Russian and English. However, as is discussed in section 4.1.1, education past the

age of eighteen was impossible for Lexi and fifteen of my other participants, because of the economic recession.

Joanne moved to West Yorkshire when she was eighteen. She moved as soon as she could do so, to join her mother who had been working in the UK for approximately fifteen years. Therefore, she had an established network from which she could gain the social capital needed to initially settle well in a new country. However, crises including poverty and abuse, played a major part in her decision to move. Joanne explained that her family was always poor and struggling, her mother used to work and send money home. However, even though this was enough at first, Joanne's father is an alcoholic and Joanne was left to bring up her siblings and to care for her father. Joanne described how she was keen to move to West Yorkshire, where her mother found her some summer work, just to have a break from her father.

Since moving to West Yorkshire, Joanne has studied for GCSEs in English and Maths as well as passing her exams as a gym instructor. Although educated to eighteen in Latvia, Joanne was unable to obtain qualifications there as she had to support her family. Migrating to West Yorkshire therefore offered Joanne the opportunity to gain qualifications and continue her education, as well as being able to find work which she enjoys, and which is well-paid when compared to Latvian opportunities.

As Joanne states,

I first came here for the summer holidays in 2007. I came to work. I had just turned 18, so I came here to work. Then I returned to Latvia and came back in 2008. I am 30 now. I had finished High school, so about 'A' Level. I studied English in Latvia and I

have been to college here. So, I can read and write English okay. I went to college here and did my, what's called, my Personal Training. I had to do my GCSEs here as well because they didn't recognise my Latvian qualifications. It's different. I was educated in a different country and a different level, but as far as English, I wasn't educated to the right level. The Maths was really simple here, because I had already done it and Maths is the same everywhere, but English is on a different level. I had to learn to write, you know, formal letters and things like that.

My Mum had already moved to here, we were struggling, we were always struggling. I come from a poor family. At first, she would work here, be here by herself and send money back home. It would be enough (money) for her to like, live here and still send us money back home. And then, because I was 18, I was able to come out and make some more money for the family, so. My mum moved first to Scotland. I think she's been in England for just under 20 years. Maybe 15, I don't know, I don't want to lie. I'm not quite sure.

My Dad was like an aggressive drinker, I would always be the one who would get the... well it is what it is. The second time, when I actually moved, that was purely because of my dad. My little brothers and sisters were still there. When my Mum moved, I was like replacing her and I had like, three younger sisters and one brother to look after, and obviously my dad as well, because he was like a kid, so yeah, it was quite exhausting. You know because I was only a teenager myself. In fact, I have two older brothers living back in Latvia as well, but they were not from the same place, so I never got to see them. [Joanne]

Joanne's situation highlights how crises can accumulate, creating a situation in which there appears to be no choice but to emigrate. Joanne continued to explain that the situation in Latvia was so dire that she tried to commit suicide. The crises that created the situation for Joanne, she describes as being external to her, for instance, poverty leading to lack of food for her and her siblings, an alcoholic father who spent the family's income on alcohol, the burden of physical care for her siblings and her father, and her lack of access to education and well-paid work.

The ability to finish education represented a crisis for many of the participants. Nadez, also experienced crises when she discovered she could not continue studying in Latvia:

I couldn't go to university in Latvia, so I thought I could keep studying if I came to the UK. I work here but I am also studying with the Open University. I came in 2009. I had already finished college and I wanted to carry-on studying in Latvia, but my mum and dad couldn't help me with any money. Plus, it's expensive to go to university in Latvia. [Nadez]

Although all the participants either have enhanced or desire to enhance their qualifications and education and consider this to be of importance, they have often found that their qualifications from Latvia were not valued and therefore did not afford them cultural capital. This finding is comparable to the argument made by Brooks and Waters (2012) and Waters (2012) who argue that there is a differential treatment of qualifications in destination countries. As Nadez stated:

I think if you can get qualifications here in the UK you can work anywhere. I've a lot of Latvian people, friends, they finish High School [aged 18], also

like university, master's degrees, and they are working in the factory. If you finish Masters in UK and you have to go work in the factory, then there be something wrong in the system. You can get a good job in Latvia with qualifications, but if you move to the UK there is no guarantee that you get a good job here, because the language barrier be different. But if you get qualification in the UK, your English is good, and English is the first language in the world. So, you can easy go speak like some business one and there is like other countries, all they speak English in business language. It was an easy decision for me to come here, because I can get good money now and I can get qualifications that will help me get a better job. [Nadez]

Further, although qualifications gained in Latvia are stated by the participants as being undervalued, essentially providing less cultural capital in the eyes of the participants, they described how these can be of a higher level. As Ada, who has Latvian as a first language stated:

My brother came to UK to work he did a course in English and Maths. He did this so he could have English qualifications. He found the maths easy, like for a nine-year-old child in Latvia. But he had to go to classes to get qualifications. [Ada]

As well as continuing to study for an advanced Latvian qualification online, Ada is interested in gaining qualifications in England and wants to do courses in maths and English. Ada hopes this will help get her a better job. Ada is educated to age eighteen and to a good standard and she started a university degree in travel and tourism in Latvia but could not continue

because of a lack of economic capital. The qualifications Ada has gained do not equate to cultural capital for her in the UK or translate to economic capital, as they are not recognised by many UK employers.

The contrast between Art, who came from a more prosperous family, and the other participants is clear in this area of questioning. Art and his girlfriend came to West Yorkshire from Latvia to do their BSc degrees, but they, unlike the other participants (excluding Regi) aged under twenty-six to thirty-six, could have completed their degrees in Latvia.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Here I conclude that twenty-one of the twenty-two participants in this study experienced a form of crisis which motivated them to move to the UK. Indeed, often they experienced an accumulation of crises that made it impossible for them to stay in Latvia even if they wanted to (and many did want to stay). These crises ranged from the death of a parent, homelessness, overcrowding, to having no job or educational prospects. My participants could not continue to live and exist in Latvia nor see a future there, at least in the short term. Crises which existed on the macro level, such as the recession of 2007 onward, affected all the participants to some degree. For example, of the participants aged 26 - 36 taking part in my research (being eighteen of the twenty-two in total), sixteen described a lack of ability to continue with their college education or university degrees in Latvia because of a suspension of their funding.

This chapter demonstrates the importance of understanding spatial differences for migration, in terms of the socio-economic culture field from which migration occurs as well as individual circumstance, in terms of factors such as social, economic and cultural capital.



In this instance, cultural capital was historically influenced by the Latvian migrants' first language, whether it is Russian or Latvian, and this has affected their individual habitus. Therefore, it is apparent that there is an intersection between class (in the Bourdieusian sense, as explained above) and ethnicity. However, once they emigrated to England, it was the participants' ability to speak English and to gain English qualifications that provided the greatest cultural capital and consequential economic capital.

Therefore, ethnicity did influence the participants' understanding of the history of Latvia and their experiences of discrimination in Latvia. However, whether they speak Russian as a first language or Latvian did not reflect in their cultural and economic capital in England. It was their English language skill and ability to gain qualifications in England that affected their cultural and economic capital.

Using Bourdieu's (1986) capital paradigm, adjusted by Savage (2015) to reflect on social class in the twenty-first century, this chapter demonstrated that individual class circumstances are important in how people deal with crises. Importantly, however, it demonstrated how people's spatial habitus is an important consideration, this means that their personal and cultural (social, political and economic) history all have a significance in their decision making.

The qualitative analysis of the situation of the Latvian participants continues in Chapter 5 where there is an evaluation of 'emergent cultural capital' (Savage 2105), which is linked to migration, language and skills. There is an operationalizing of the concepts of formal and

informal networks. The extent to which these are used, for instance, how the participants describe informal networks is compared to the use of formal networks.

## **Chapter 6: Crises, capital and the ease of migration.**

This chapter reflects on the initial idea of the PhD research, which was to examine migrant's use of social capital and networks and to understand how these helped them to settle in a new environment. During the interviews, it became apparent that the main forms of networks the participants used were loose and ad hoc and not established. Further, the maintenance of networks for my participants, especially networks in Latvia, incorporated the use of social media. Tilly's (2007) argument that social capital can be obtained from friends and families left in a migrant's place of origin is useful for this study as he provides a shift towards understanding how relationships, and therefore, social networks, can be maintained between the place the migrant moved from and the place of arrival. This is an idea that I take up in this chapter and the use of social media is further discussed in detail vis-à-vis migration, social and cultural capital in section 2.8 (Keles 2015; Rheingold, 1993; Appadurai, 1995; Larsen and Urry 2008) and in Chapter 7.

Formal networks are explored as established groups, like a company, which have an overarching mission. Weber (1964:151) describes such formal networks as, 'a system of continuous purposive activity of a specified kind.'; examples could be a tennis club, university or job agency. In contrast, informal networks do not have administrative staff that provide impetus and continuity and therefore, informal networks do not reflect the understanding of a 'corporate organisation' (1964:151) that Weber provides. Thus, informal networks are distinguishable from formal networks and are presented here as loose family, friendship or acquaintance groups, which do not have a formalised central mission.

Formal and informal networks do not need to be closely bonded or homogeneous. However, this is a possibility. Weber (1964:151-152) describes how formal organisations, ‘corporate organisations’, ‘voluntary associations’ and ‘compulsory associations’, have expectations of adherence to order and agreed principles upon which people act. Informal organisations can also be closely bonded with people reliant upon each other, for instance, in a close family. The empirical evidence below demonstrates that the participants have, on the whole, used informal groups based on a shared language, which does not reflect a shared ethnicity.

During the initial tranche of in-depth interviews for this study, from September 2019 – January 2020, the question of simplicity and straightforwardness of movement was a talking theme. Participants’ discussion of the difficulty of their migration suggested that migration was either facilitated by, or relied on, network building. I, therefore, address the significance of network building in this chapter in the specific context of the participants’ use of formal and informal networks on their migration journey. Bourdieu’s (1986) understanding of social, cultural and economic capital continues to be used throughout.

Fig. 8 Representation of the answers to, 'Is it easier for some people to emigrate than others?'



Created by Lyndsey Kramer using NVivo.

Above is a word frequency diagram, created in NVivo 12, for responses to the question: 'Is it easier for some people to emigrate than others?' The word frequency diagram provides a visual link to the participants' reports on the ease of their migration to the UK and ultimately West Yorkshire. Some words occur more frequently than others and as a result 'leap out' of the diagram, for instance, 'people', 'English' and 'easier'. Other words also appeared frequently in the qualitative interviews, for instance, 'learn', 'speak', 'friends' and 'family'. Therefore, these words appeared repeatedly in the participants' answers that pertain specifically to the ease of migration. These words and their context are discussed in the chapter below. The words in this diagram are the signposts to the participants' interpretations of many of the themes, which are discussed within the paradigm of cultural, social and economic capital and the context of ease of migration using formal and informal networks.

Further, I consider 'emergent cultural capital' (Savage 2015) as facilitating migration. This represents one of the original contributions of this thesis, filling a gap in the existing literature. Cultural capital such as English language skills gained in the UK or as an appealing part of moving to the UK, are examined with respect to emergent cultural capital. Thus, the main aspects or words that leap out of the diagram at the start of the chapter and the main word signposts from the qualitative interviews, 'people', 'English', 'easier', 'learn', 'speak', 'friends' and 'family' are explored in terms of either social capital or cultural capital.

Therefore, in the first part of this chapter, I begin with setting out the concept of 'emergent cultural capital' (Savage 2015), and how it is linked to migration, language and skills. I then consider the role that education opportunities have provided in facilitating migration and enabled some participants to gain additional cultural, social and economic capital. This develops into a consideration of the use of capital to ease migration and an evaluation of how social, economic and cultural capital interconnect.

Next, there is an operationalizing of the concepts of formal and informal networks in relation to the empirical data. A leading summary here is that the participants tended to mainly use informal and ad hoc social networks, therefore the findings pertaining specifically to the use of informal social networks are discussed in depth. This includes a consideration of informal social networks that were previously known, therefore established, or which became known to the Latvian participants. Fourthly, there is a consideration of the role of acknowledged formal organisations, such as employers or agencies, in the migration process.

The third area described above, that of informal ad hoc networks, addresses a gap in the literature identified by Ryan (2011). As she illustrates, studies on EU migration have focussed on migrant social networks which use established networks. This means that studies have focused on how migrants from the EU use informal networks which are well known to the migrants, such as networks of friends and family who have already migrated, or formal, instituted networks, such as job agencies, government and business recruitment organisations. This, Ryan (ibid) argues, could result from a presupposition that there are readily available migrant networks. This assumption ignores the informality, looseness and reflexivity of networks. Further, it disregards the situation of migrants who are without prior networks. In this chapter there is a discussion of the lack of established networks and how this affects migration. This leads to an evaluation of the use of informal networks, their use and benefit on the migrant journey.

### **6.1 Emergent capital: Reinforcing the theory of practice.**

Savage (2015: 178) uses the term 'emergent' in opposition to 'highbrow' and 'avant-garde' cultural capital to understand how the 'new and contemporary' can be automatically held to be potential 'markers of excellence'. The 'new and contemporary' can be understood as reflective of some career statuses, for instance, those which are associated with computer software development. Emergent cultural capital can therefore be understood as recognisable and appreciated attributes and has practical abilities. Further, emergent cultural capital is used here to understand status and how this develops through the migration process via, for instance, language accumulation, computer skills, property acquisition and the development of other aspects of cultural capital and changed sense of

self. This use of the concept is supported by Savage's explanation that 'skill, awareness and knowledge are bound with class.' (2015:178). This 'skill, awareness and knowledge' is clearly a form of cultural capital.

The main source of capital for two of my participants, Regi and Art, is their IT skills and experience. They have both developed these in the UK, as Regi states,

I have diploma of HE and finishing BSc but employers only care about my computer programming. They don't want generic qualifications but knowledge of particular problems and specific programs. [Regi]

Emergent cultural capital in terms of social mobility was open to Regi and Art because their area of work expertise, that of computer programming, continues to emerge as a highly sought after one. Regi and Art's digital skill and knowledge has enhanced their migration experience. In Chapter 2. 8, emergent social capital is discussed in more detail. Savage describes emerging cultural capital as, 'more physical, externalized, and active, designed to practically achieve outcomes' (2021:265). My findings are that emerging cultural capital, enhanced by digital technologies, may not necessarily lie in the physical realm, but that other aspects of emerging cultural capital, such as universally resonant knowledge supports my participants' ability to 'move effortlessly between cultural worlds' (Savage 2021:264). My participants' cultural capital, enhanced by digital technology, has developed as they have moved between cultural fields. Savage (2021:265) argues that this 'constitutes privilege'. This can be seen in the work of Friedman and Laurison (2020) where it is demonstrated that some people can move easily between cultural worlds, making social mobility easier for them. My findings are that digital technology enhanced my participants' cultural capital to different degrees depending on their knowledge of, access to and skills



with computer technology. Increased cosmopolitanism is one area of cultural capital that developed through their use of digital technology and this became notably emergent through the migration process.

Nine of my participants discussed, in their own words, their increased sense of cosmopolitanism. As Aiva stated,

There's so many different nationalities in the warehouse. You know, like if I am talking English, I can communicate with them. Sometimes I am interested in where they come from, what it is like back home for them. Like they can have, you know, a completely different mentality. I don't want to be stuck with just communicating with Latvians. [Aiva]

Moving to West Yorkshire therefore opened opportunities for my participants to work with a broader range of people.

Further, as Aiva continues,

When I go back home, everyone just seems so narrow minded, and I'm like, this is not for me, you know? Oh yeah, this place has changed me a lot as well. I am still the same as I used to be in my very core. It's just, when you see that there is more than just the environment you used to be. Because obviously people have certain, how do you say, certain stereotypes. So, then you come here, even if you go back home, everyone there thinks like: "Oh the Asians are terrorists". But then you come here and you meet lots of Asians and stuff and you realise that they are just human as well. Fair enough, they have different culture and they have like, different rules and stuff to their own lives. A lot of them, I don't understand them, but you know, you

still talk to them and if you're nice to them, they're nice to you, so, I think it just goes both ways. [Aiva]

Aiva clearly feels that her cultural capital has developed and that she has a new and broader perspective. This is a form of emergent cultural capital for her. Her experiences build on her accumulated cultural capital and provide her with new skills, those of acceptance of others and other practical skills, such as language development.

This ability to increase social awareness and to build on cultural capital positively, was illustrated by Joanne.

I've never managed to be racist. I don't know how you become racist in the first place. It's strange. When I moved to England, I was really happy to see that there was a greater mix. Because what do you take from people?' I feel like it is a richer life just having all different people. [Joanne]

In her reflection above, Joanne contrasts the difference between Latvia, and West Yorkshire, where there is a 'greater mix' of ethnicities. All of those discussing the ethnic mix in West Yorkshire were positive about the effects. Further, they reflect on how the experience of living in West Yorkshire has changed them. For instance, as Mirna and Olga stated,

I feel like, more cosmopolitan. I appreciate different things; I see all different people.

I have a friend from Kenya. [Mirna]

And as Olga stated.

I keep in touch with my mum and dad in Latvia. My brother works in Germany and my sister is here, living in \_\_\_\_\_. I see my friends in Latvia when I can. We speak

on social media all the time. I think that I have changed since coming to the UK. Most of my friends here are Latvian, but I do have other friends, some Asian some English. I have a broader way of seeing the world. I don't think anymore: "Oh Latvia is the best place or has the best way to live." I can appreciate and understand different people. [Olga]

This was also the case for Freda, a woman aged 26 - 36, who stated:

I am more broad minded. People I know in Latvia are narrow minded. When I return to Latvia it never feels like a complete holiday, my family always want part of me.

Eli, a woman aged 26-36 described how she had travelled using the TFEU and expanded her friendship group:

We have made new friends they are Polish. I came to the UK in 2012. Before that I was in Ireland in a small town called \_\_\_\_\_ near to Tipperary. I worked in a factory there. My friend wanted a better job so I moved here to England.

The above quotes demonstrate how all the nine participants who discussed a changed sense of self vis-à-vis other ethnic groups they live and work within West Yorkshire, understood this as a positive. I would link this to a positive form of emergent cultural capital.

These participants expanded their knowledge and understanding, through their interactions with others. For my participants, these experiences enhanced their skills such as linguistic ability and potentially also in terms of employability, as they can, as Aiva illustrates above, work with a wide range of people.

## **6.2 The use of capital to ease migration: How social, economic and cultural capital interconnect**

As discussed in Chapter 5, the lack of opportunity to continue studying in Latvia was impactful for sixteen of the participants. In Chapter 5, I discussed how this inability to continue studying at HE created a personal crisis for many. All participants regarded moving to the UK as providing opportunities above and beyond financial rewards. They talked about how it offered the ability to continue to grow as a person, therefore, to build on cultural capital, through the acquisition of skills and qualifications. In Chapter 5, it is shown that twenty of the participants considered that they had no choice but to migrate to another EU country for work. However, the potential to gain qualifications inspired migration to the UK and was described as easing relocation, as it provided impetus to the motivation to settle and become successful in West Yorkshire. Sixteen participants in the case study considered that they could not finish their education in Latvia due to financial pressures, they did not have the economic capital in Latvia to realise their full potential in terms of cultural capital and the achieving of higher qualifications. Further, they perceived that any qualifications gained in Latvia would not be as well received in other areas of the EU, as those gained in the UK. Therefore, emigrating to the UK was considered to be a reasonable choice, as for many, this offered an opportunity to further their education.

The participants were able to use their cultural, social and economic capital to varying degrees to assist their migration journey. For instance, Nadez utilised her ability to use digital technologies to study online for her degree and was able to progress her education in the UK. The ability to use digital technology can be argued to provide cultural capital, and

this is discussed in more depth in the next chapter. Digital technology afforded the participants with an opportunity to progress their education in the UK. Nadez, stated:

Well, I couldn't go the university in Latvia, so I thought I could keep studying if I came to the UK. I work here but I am also studying with the Open University. [Nadez]

Nadez further clarified that the reason she could not study at a university in Latvia was due to a lack of money. Participants' desire to continue in education was more extensive than merely their perception that gaining this cultural capital could lead to better paid jobs or careers. That said, this was a major factor, and Nadez chose to study computers / IT software with the Open University with a view to furthering job opportunities, not just in the UK but worldwide. Moving to West Yorkshire offered Nadez the opportunity to find work and to study, to move beyond what she considered to be hard but well-paid work at night in local factories, food producers, warehouses and superstores, which most of the participants undertake.

Other participants were keen to develop their cultural capital and understood that this would enable them to settle in the UK more easily. This is illustrated in Chapter 5.4 where Joanne describes how she created a pathway to settle in West Yorkshire that is bound up with education. Joanne's discussion of her training was enthusiastic. Her personal training qualifications have enabled her to work at two gyms. The fitness routines she teaches, she enjoys passionately. Joanne has used digital technology to research the qualifications needed to become a fitness coach and to access courses. During the first lock-down period for COVID 19, Joanne used Facebook to promote exercise routines and to show how she used a 'street gym', exercising on the pavement using garden walls and the curb.

Joanne discussed how the impetus to move to the UK was based on different factors, including the profound crisis, which is discussed in Chapter 5. The ease of her migration was supported by her mother already living and working in the UK. This provided Joanne with a 'safety net', somewhere and someone to go to for support in initially finding employment and accommodation. However, an important influence was the determination to overcome crisis issues that she associated with Latvia, and a motivational factor was to build cultural capital by learning and growing in the UK.

Further, although the participants consider that qualifications gained in Latvia are undervalued in the EU, and especially in the UK, they described how these can be of a higher level.

As well as continuing to study for an advanced Latvian qualification online, Ada is interested in gaining qualifications in England and wants to do courses in maths and English. Ada hopes this will help get her a better job:

Now I want to do my GCSEs and something like to, I can get better job; like don't have to work just in warehouse, because I have all of the time, everywhere, feeling cold. [Ada]

Ada is educated to age eighteen and to a good standard. She started a college degree in travel and tourism in Latvia but could not continue because of a lack of economic capital. The qualifications Ada has gained do not equate to cultural capital for her in the UK or translate to economic capital, as they are not recognised by many UK employers.

Eve has two daughters, one stayed in Latvia when Eve emigrated to the UK and the other joined her, firstly to live in a county in Southern England and latterly to live in West

Yorkshire. Although Eve contends that having a degree in the social sciences from a Latvian university does not benefit her in terms of recognition by UK employers, her daughter gained a degree in the UK and Eve is confident that her daughter's qualification will carry more capital:

My daughter finished her college here in [a town in the Southeast]. I have lived here for ten years. My daughter came later when she was 16. She finished college in [a town in the Southeast] and then she went to [an English] University. She finished when she was 22. Her English is very good.

It is good for her because she can do what she wants. [Eve]

When Eve states that her daughter can, 'do what she wants,' she is referring to her daughter's *institutionalised* cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). She is certain that her daughter will be able to work anywhere in the world with a degree gained in Britain, in English.

Interestingly, although Eve, Mutty and Mirna are not able to use their degrees to find employment, they do reflect what can be argued to be cultural capital in its: 'embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu, 1986:243). For instance, Mirna, a graduate in Russian literature, now reads and enjoys English literature; reading in English, classics such as Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, even though she could not speak English when she arrived in the UK. Eve demonstrates a confidence in HE in the UK, as does Mutty. Further, Eve organises and runs a dance group, which demonstrates embodied confidence; she does this online as well as providing a physical location (COVID 19 lockdowns permitting) and this demonstrates her ability to use digital technology to enhance her social capital. All three women have now gained good English communication skills. However, when they first arrived in the UK, they acknowledged that they had a lack of

confidence; their identity, knowledge and experience or their habitus (Bourdieu 1986) not matching the new field of experience. Their Latvian education did not offer them distinction in terms of valued qualifications in the UK, and although it can be argued that they had some embodied capital, in terms of the preferences and choices that could distinguish them, these did not provide the recognition or the confidence they needed to find middle class jobs in the UK. Friedman and Laurison (2020) demonstrate the importance of confidence in settling into new (class) environments. Confidence is somewhat intangible, however, to be able to operate well and succeed in a given environment, it is necessary to have the self-belief to do so. Friedman and Laurison demonstrate how much harder it is for people not from an upper middle-class private or public school education background to 'fit' into some elitist workplaces, such as those in creative mass media. Therefore, cultural capital gained in one field, such as degrees from Latvia, or a non-Russell group university, might not provide status in terms of how they are perceived, but just as consequentially, the owner may not have the bearing, and as a result the confidence, of someone from the background ordinarily associated with a particular job or position.

English language skills provide the embodied cultural capital, experienced as confidence to continue with education in West Yorkshire. There is a distinct theme reflected in a desire to develop cultural capital through education. As Regi, a man aged 25 – 36 stated:

I knew I always wanted to live somewhere abroad, because basically, our wages are bad. As I knew English I decided to come here. Most of the other countries didn't make any sense. I didn't like Italy, so I came to the UK because of my friends were here.

*Interviewer: 'How did your friends help you settle-in?'*



Well, I kind of pushed it myself. They had a place for me to stay and they said that they could show me where to get a job. I could have done it on my own, but I thought I go the easy way. They just provided accommodation, that's it. [Regi]

Regi demonstrates how he temporarily used an informal, friendship network to locate accommodation when he first arrived in West Yorkshire, like many of the interviewees, he was aged eighteen at the point of his emigration. One theme that has arisen is the desire to study and increase skills and recognised UK qualifications.

Regi found it easy to emigrate to West Yorkshire. He was sure that it would be as easy for everyone, however, Regi works in computer programming and as described above, has 'emergent cultural capital' (Savage (2015)).

I think it depends on their language level and their general maturity. If you have brains and you have English, then it's pretty easy, I think. [Regi]

In another part of Regi's interview, when he was asked about Brexit, he explained that he was not concerned because he earns above the minimum wage that the government is insisting on for EU workers to remain in the UK. He also described his plans to buy an apartment both in the centre of a large city in West Yorkshire and in the old town centre of Riga, the capital of Latvia. Regi has worked hard and is ambitious, however, it is evident, as Savage (2015:178) describes, that his: 'skill, awareness and knowledge are bound up with his class.' Regi's perception of the ease of moving from Latvia is based on the ease that he found, which in turn rests on his ability with English language and computer programming. In a sense, both languages are culturally transferable to the UK.

Melinda, aged 26 – 36 (arrived 2010) argued that her family would have found it much harder to relocate to the UK, because of their lack of English skills:

My family stayed in Latvia. For me, like, I like changes, I'm going to go and do things and have options. For my family, I think the biggest barrier is they don't speak English, like, at all, so, I am like, one of them types who wants to learn and I think they struggle with learning, so, I think it's just best they stay there. [Melinda]

The participants agreed that cultural capital in the form of English language acquisition was important in most incidences. Nevertheless, Oliver explained that in some settings, like the farm where he worked initially, this form of cultural capital was not as important, because people there formed a social network and supported each other with understanding and language comprehension. However, the idea that emigrating would be easier with family, with one's own unit and the social capital that this would generate, was discussed. One participant, Mirna, described how she found things hard and lonely. She suggested that some who move with their families will carry their communities with them: 'People that come and bring a partner or children have it easier.' [Mirna]. Mirna suggests loneliness and a lack of family nearby make emigration to the UK harder.

Mutty perceived that a lack of English skill and leaving family behind made migration harder:

Some people come here, and they don't even speak English. I met people like that, they had to rely on others to do everything for them. I couldn't

be like that. I think it is hard if you have to leave people behind, like children or family you are close to. I found that very hard. [Mutty]

As Mutty illustrates, language, loneliness and the lack of ability to turn to a support network on arrival in the UK meant a lack of social capital in the form of emotional succour. This was more apparent when participants first moved to the UK. However, as they became settled in the UK, the participants described how they stayed in touch with family and friends in Latvia and other EU countries through internet use, this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. Initially, however, networks provided essential social capital.

### **6.3 Formal and informal networks.**

Reviewing the interview comments to the question, 'Is it easier for some people to emigrate?', a clear theme became apparent: it is the participants' informal networks, as opposed to formal networks created by organisations, such as employers or agencies, which have supported their emigration to the UK and eventual location in West Yorkshire. The operationalisation here of informal and formal organisations uses Weber's (1964) definition as outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

This section focuses on informal ad hoc networks and addresses a gap in the literature identified by Ryan (2011). As she illustrates, studies on EU migration have focussed on migrant social networks that use established networks. This means that studies have focused on how migrants from the EU use informal networks that are well known to the migrants, such as networks of friends and family who have already migrated, or formal, instituted networks, such as job agencies, government and business recruitment organisations. This, Ryan (ibid) argues, could result from a presupposition that there are

readily available migrant networks. This assumption ignores the informality, looseness and reflexivity of networks. Further, it disregards the situation of migrants who are without prior networks. In this chapter there is a discussion of the lack of established networks and how this affects migration. This leads to an evaluation of the use of informal networks, their use and benefit on the migrant journey.

### **6.3.1 Examining participants' use of informal social networks.**

One participant who did use an informal network was Art, (arrived 2013). Although he had work experience in IT, he did not have a social network of friends or family that he could rely on. As he stated:

I came to [.....] to study. Actually, with my girlfriend at the time. She went to, I don't know what it's called, a meeting in Riga with different universities from all over the world. She decided to come to [.....] University to study. So, she knew that I did not have a Bachelor's degree and asked me if I wanted to come. I already was working in IT in Latvia, so I decided to do a degree in Computer Science at university.

At the time I did not even know that there were other Latvians in [.....]. I met one Latvian on my course. After I came to [.....] in 2013, my brother and sister came as well. I came for education and an adventure. [Art]

This reference of Art's to a West Yorkshire University could be considered as evidence of an organisation providing a formal: 'structured channel' to emigrate. Art's lack of a social network to provide social capital made it essential for him to use a formal organisation.

One participant, Tiberius, who is aged 26 -36 and male and arrived in 2012, observed that, migration to West Yorkshire is easier if people have a social network to support them:

It would be very expensive for the people who come for just them own.

For some difficult, for some easy, yeah. I had easy way to come. I got friends who moved. For some people, like my brother, he was very easy, because I'm here. But if they have no one to stay with, it would be too expensive. I think it is easier if you have someone to show you how to get a job, where to live, or let you live with them. [Tiberius]

The finding here is that having a group of friends around him increased Tiberius's social capital when he first moved to West Yorkshire. However, it was not a group of established migrants who helped him settle, as he moved at approximately the same time as his friends. Therefore, he used an informal unestablished network to settle in West Yorkshire. This was a common feature of the empirical data given on initial travelling and settling in West Yorkshire. Further, after the initial period of settling in the UK, his friendship groups changed, responding to Tiberius's employment and new relationships. However, although the nature of informal networks was loose for Tiberius, they have become more established over time. The reduction of expenses due to the support of an informal social network demonstrates how social and economic capital are linked.

As Tiberius describes above, the form and type of network that the Latvian participants could access depends upon their social capital, friends and family.

These friendship groups could be made up of other Latvians, or as Zav stated:

Most of my friends are from Latvia or Poland. I do have a Lithuanian friend as well. I like to go fishing, so I have friends I go fishing with, my other friends introduced me to them. They are from Estonia and the Ukraine.

The sharing of the Russian language with other migrants from former Soviet countries (outside of Latvia) provided a form of cultural capital that could be used to reinforce social capital.

Hence, as Roman, a man who left Latvia aged 18, explains, cultural capital also plays a major part in the ease of migration:

Some people find it easy to come to the UK. Some people still want to come, but they don't have people to help them the first 2 – 3 months. Plus, they don't speak English and that makes it harder. I got friends when I come to the UK. I got one friend; we went straight away into one room we shared. We had people straight away who showing us the cheapest shop; where is the bank; where is the agency; what kind of taxi you must use. We have somebody who show us all of these things. But if you come alone, you don't have nothing. [Roman]

Roman illustrates the importance of the social capital gained from informal networks.

Roman left Latvia without preparing accommodation in the UK or a job. One evening, he decided, as some members of his friendship group had a cheap flight to West Yorkshire, he

would book himself one and leave with them. He did not go home to pack a bag. Further, Roman demonstrates the value of cultural capital, which he links explicitly to the ability to speak English. From participants' responses, this language ability helped to determine the form and type of network they could access. For those who had reasonable English skills, it was easier for them to communicate with the other nationals who did not speak Latvian with whom they worked, and they established friendship groups with them. This demonstrates a clear link between cultural and social capital. However, this depended on the place of work, as one participant, Aiva, aged 26 – 36, pointed out, when she worked in factories, she had only ever met one person who was not a migrant from the EU, and more specifically, from one of the countries that joined the EU in 2004. Therefore, as Aiva described, Russian language ability was important in communicating in the workplace, as this was a common second language for Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians and Polish workers. She explained how people created informal friendship groups with others with whom they could communicate in the workplace. Ethnicity, therefore, was not a major factor in the creation of informal networks, but it was the participants' class in terms of cultural, social and economic capital that allowed them to form loose friendships. In the case of Eastern European workers, as is illustrated in more depth in the introduction to this thesis, they did share a cultural history based on a commonality of Russian as a second language and first for some. This history includes Soviet occupation, a recession in 2007, which profoundly affected the newly capitalist economies of Eastern Europe, and which led to an economic crisis. These circumstances created a commonality of habitus, not based on specific ethnicity but on class. Therefore, the Latvian participants have been able to ease their migration through network building with other workers from Eastern European

countries, as their habitus is similar enough to allow for understanding and communication to lead to network building and the acquiring of social capital.

Migrants can use a combination of network types, and an example of this is provided by Oliver aged 26 – 36 (arrived 2013). He described how people can find it easier to migrate, not just in terms of their cultural capital, for instance, their language ability or other skills, but because of factors such as age or their social networks.

I find people from all ages young and old here. Even Latvian people in their 50s and 60s come here to work. They find jobs and they stay. I think this difference for older people because they will find it harder to learn English, but this is no problem as they can use Latvian or Russian, there is always someone who understands them. When you are younger, I think learning a new language like English is easier. Usually, people come here with someone else. Most people have a network waiting for them when they arrive in England; like saying my grandfather arrived and I would find a place for him to live he could live with me, and I would get him a job. I think that when people are older, and they come here for a job they will stay in that job and not move around. Younger people like me I can get any job anywhere and my English is better so I can move around, also, I can search internet and find job that way. [Oliver]

Oliver illustrates the importance of social networks; however, these are not only formal or established, but based on family and friendship groups that will vary depending on the individual migrants. He also evidences how Latvian workers moving to West Yorkshire vary in age and cultural capital. The two things that he states makes moving easier is having a



social network when they arrive and access to social media where they can find support.

However, he is clear that cultural capital in the form of English language skill enables mobility within the UK.

These responses reflect the experience of many of the participants in this case study. Many used ad hoc, and informal networks, sometimes based on familial relations or on friendships. This contrasts with previous studies of migration in the EU that emphasise the importance of established networks. However, these were not entirely absent from my study, as I go on to explore below.

#### **6.4 An evaluation of the role of acknowledged formal organisations.**

McCollum *et al.* (2013) construct an argument about formal organisation that rests largely on Latvian migrants' use of migration channels, such as agencies. However, they also discuss how migration experiences will differ and that migration channels will change over time, potentially becoming more informal. My study indicates that migrants will all use informal networks at some point, even if they also used an agency in the first instance. Indeed, participants were more likely to use informal networks from the outset of their migration journey.

Participants often described their experience of dealing with agencies in unfavourable terms. These were participants who had less English language skill and were, thus, less able to access other sources of help, and who sometimes also lacked access to digital technology. This demonstrates how a lack of capital in one area can have a consequential effect in another. Here a lack of social capital in the form of friendship and familial support networks is exacerbated by a lack of cultural capital in the form of English language skill. This

argument is supported by two migrants who did use an agency to travel to the UK for work, and had no informal, familial or friendship network available. As Mirna, aged 58 – 67 attested:

I came to the UK from Latvia in 2010 with three other Latvian women who were also finding work in the UK. My family stayed in Latvia. I paid an agency in Latvia then another in London. When I arrived in UK, the woman running the agency bought me a ticket to \_\_\_\_\_ and told me to go and work for \_\_\_\_\_ (hotel chain) as a cleaner. I spoke no English at that time. I was ripped-off. I paid £500 to a man but I don't even know why. People are still making a lot of money this way. [Mirna]

This statement from Mirna illustrates the further interconnectivity of economic capital to cultural and social capital in a new field. It is clear that Mirna was financially vulnerable because of her lack of social and cultural capital; thus, she experienced a lack of economic capital, and was subject to abuse in this area.

Similarly, to Mirna, Eve, who is currently aged 37 – 47 (arrived 2009), did not have English language skills, and cultural capital derived from this, that the other participants in this case study had when they arrived. Further, they did not have the informal social networks that worked for other participants to provide social capital. Nor did they have access to information and the emotional succour that other participants described as necessary to feel supported after migrating to the UK. As Bottero (2005:149) states, 'Our social position depends upon the *combination* of the capital available to us; as we draw not just on our economic resources, but also on the social networks we have contacts with'. A lack of

economic, cultural and social capital led to Mirna and Eve initially being vulnerable to economic abuse, as Eve stated:

When I came to England, I didn't know anyone here. I came by bus, not plane. I came with others who were recruited to come. We were told that we would have a job. One company in Latvia contacts other companies abroad and is supposed to find us jobs. We pay them. But they lied. When I came here, I didn't have a job. Some people went back straight away, but I couldn't as I'd borrowed money to come here. Thank God, some good people helped me. I didn't know them, but these Latvian people helped me. It was so hard. I was 32. Somehow, I made it, but it was so hard. After I divorced, I knew I had to do something. My friend, who was in the same situation, and I thought about coming. But she couldn't come. I came first, but there was no job. So, I told her that there was no job. After two weeks she did come. [Eve]

Eve, unlike the younger participants, has a degree from Latvia - a bachelor's degree in social science. However, Eve, Mutty and Mirna, all found themselves in poorly paid service jobs.

In their work, McDowell (2007: 2) argues that it is migrant workers with few recognisable qualifications that end up in: 'bottom-end jobs in poorly paid sectors of the labor market.'. However, my study indicates that it is not only participants with 'few recognisable qualifications' who end up in less paid jobs, as Mirna and Eve's experiences show. Instead, it is their lack of cultural capital in the form of specific qualifications, for instance, those gained in the UK, their initial lack of English language skill plus a lack of economic and social capital that led to Mirna and Eve working in poorly paid jobs in the service sector. It also

made them reliant upon formal organisations like job agencies. This is discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

As they established more contacts and built their social capital, there was a direct effect upon their ability to improve their chances of better paid work. Consequently, their economic capital and cultural capital in the form of English language skill improved. This further increased their desire and an interest in gaining qualifications in the UK.

Thus, in terms of cultural capital, in the case of Mirna and Eve, it was in part a lack of English language skill and English qualifications that led to the absence of the 'suitable conditions' (Bourdieu 1986:243), which prevented the transfer of institutional cultural capital to economic capital. Further, although their educational cultural capital would have been of more value in the Latvian employment field, they perceived that a degree gained in the UK would have more cultural value in Latvia than a Latvian degree. However, it was the lack of English language and familial or friendship networks that made them dependent on an agency. It could also be the lack of recognition given to their qualifications, which in turn detracted from any embodied cultural capital. The lack of English language skills exacerbated their reliance on intermediaries, which the other English-speaking migrants did not use; their lack of English mediated against their ability to use their cultural capital. Their status as graduates was not recognised and their employment has not reflected their graduate status.

All the participants had completed advanced level studies, achieving the equivalent of UK 'A' Levels, and all of those without degrees had been offered HE places and some full scholarships. This is an interesting finding and important to this research as only two of the participants have employment that reflects the academic capital they achieved in the

Latvian Field. In Chapter 5, crises are discussed as reasons for migration, and one crisis was the inability of sixteen of the twenty-two participants to continue their higher education in Latvia. However, only three of the participants are employed in non-manual jobs, and one of these, Roman, is a heavy goods driver who was employed as a manual worker whilst paying for his own heavy goods training and licence in the UK. This evidence fits with literature that focuses on labour market segmentation (McDowell, et al., 2007, Vasey, 2017), which progresses the focus from recruitment channels that rest solely on perceived skills and those channels that originate with employers and agencies, to examining the gendered, classed and racialised employment of migrants. They argue that employers have a stereotypical perception of migrants from Eastern European countries as suitable for lower-paid, lower-skilled work (Vasey 2017, McCollum et al., 2013). This stereotypical view can be understood as a lack of appreciation of the embodied cultural capital, in terms of skills and ability, of the migrants. Migrants can therefore undergo a form of racialisation in terms of aspects of their class, in this instance, their cultural capital. This can be considered to mediate against the ease of the case study group's migration to the UK and is demonstrated above to do so in terms of the lack of appreciation for qualifications gained in Latvia. Hence, what Bourdieu (1984:23) argues to be the: 'guaranteed product of the combined effects of cultural transmission by the family and cultural transmission by the school' does not necessarily work in terms of ease of migration and settling into a new field. The participants' experience was that a degree from Latvia is not reflected in cultural capital, either in terms of a recognition of the qualification, or in the situation of Mirna and Eve, embodied and providing consequential confidence. A notable theme is that it is the education that has

been developed in the UK that has led to economic success, not the qualifications gained in Latvia.

However, as noted in Chapter 5, participants regarded education as a potential platform for advancing economic capital, and progressing skills and training was a motivating factor for moving to the UK. For instance, all of the participants aged 35 or under, equating to all but four of those interviewed in the case study, left education in Latvia at the age of eighteen or nineteen, but not through choice.

Migration for participants in this case study was often about using their embodied cultural capital to take opportunities. It depended upon their other forms of capital, such as social and economic, which combined to locate them within the class structure, whether they needed to use formal networks.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

All participants used informal networks, even if a formal network was used in the first instance. An example of this is Art, discussed above, who, even though he used a formal network to initiate his move to West Yorkshire, he did move with a friend, so he did have a limited social network. Art came to the UK to do a degree, demonstrating a confidence that would normally be associated, as Friedman and Laurison argue (2020), with embodied cultural capital.

The extent to which this support constitutes the formation of any kind of migrant network must be questioned as the evidence demonstrates only that primary help is given. The participants did not form institutions or associations and as is demonstrated in Chapter 7, they described their use of Latvian Clubs as rare. Hence, it is not formal but informal

networks that were used the most by the participants and it is these which made it easier to migrate to the UK and eventually settle in West Yorkshire. Further, there is clear evidence that these networks are based on informal, ad hoc familial and friendship groups that are not long term and established. The friendship groups are also based on class as opposed to a common ethnicity.

In terms of the participants' class, it has been demonstrated in this chapter that this needs to be understood in terms of their cultural, economic and social capital. It is these three forms of capital that interact to support their current social position. Further, as is discussed in section 2.7, in terms of their class foundation and dispositions, therefore their habitus, it is their cultural capital based on a common social history, economics and politics, arguably unique to the countries of Eastern Europe, which provides a commonality that supports the ease of migration for the participants. The Latvian participants share a common second (or first) language and class identity with others from the post-Soviet countries of Eastern Europe which is not based on ethnic peculiarities. This enables them to expand their friendship groups, for instance, in the workplace, where they can meet and communicate with others who have Russian as a first or second language. This reinforces the participants' ability to do the warehouse and factory jobs, which they describe as undertaken by other Eastern Europeans. This enables the participants to be economically active using cultural capital in the form of their language skill and comparable habitus.

In the next chapter there is an exploration of how the case study participants use digital networks to aid settling into life in West Yorkshire. The theme of cultural capital and how it informs the participants' ability to use digital technology is explored, along with their use of social media to support network building and social capital. Further, there is reference to

how digital technology provides cultural and economic capital. The discussion focuses on how class, based on cultural, economic and social capital, and the migrants' habitus, can vary depending on the participants' access to digital technology and their ability to use it, again reflecting the importance of social, cultural and economic capital.



## **Chapter 7: Settling in the UK: the use of digital technology and virtual spaces to maintain and create social networks.**

In this chapter, I explore the participants' descriptions of their use of digital networks to aid their migration and settlement in West Yorkshire. This is an extension of the analysis in the previous chapter in which I discussed participants' use of informal social networks to help them settle. Thus, in this chapter, I develop the theme of informal social networks to incorporate an important aspect of social networking for participants: their ability to maintain informal social networks and to enhance their social capital using online media, especially social media. Continuing with the idea that class is an important aspect of people's ability to settle, the discussion below highlights how capital can vary depending on participants' access to digital technology and their ability to use it, again reflecting the importance of social, cultural and economic capital.

In this section I provide an exploration of the participants' use of digital technology vis-à-vis social media using Bourdieu's (1986) capital paradigm. There is an illustration of how social capital gained through social media community connections has replaced in prominence the use of physical and community structures.

The second subsection investigates participants' economic capital and their digital technology ability. There is also an investigation of any lack of cultural capital that the participants indicate as occurring as a result of a lack of digital technological knowledge. The third subsection focuses on social capital and digital technology use. I discuss the participants' views on their ability to maintain social networks with family and friends in Latvia vis-à-vis social networking. In the fourth subsection I discuss cultural capital and

digital technology usage with reference to the participants' understanding of how their own abilities have been enhanced using digital media to find jobs, train, research and learn.

These subsections provide an examination of the empirical data in terms of participants' ability to migrate and settle vis-à-vis their use of digital technology. This consideration of the Latvian participants' uses of digital technology, and how it enhances capital, provides an interesting thesis contribution predicated on migrants' use of social media to maintain and develop social capital (Keles 2015, Komito 2011, Larsen and Urry 2008). However, I offer a particular consideration that furthers the lens from social capital and focuses on aspects of the migrant participants' social, cultural and economic capital in relation to digital technology.

I show how digital technology creates a form of digitally enhanced migration, by focusing on Latvian migrants' use of online social media sites to gain and enhance their capital. Collins (2014:53) uses the term 'digitally enhanced migration' as a phrase that illustrates the mediating effects of technology on migration. Collins (2014:53) describes how in contemporary society migrants are, 'hyper-mobile, communications rich, Internet-enabled'. This is a finding which concurs with mine. Collins underlines how migrants have an increased use of technology, which enables them to 'navigate the processes of migration and establish, maintain and recreate their cultural, social and political relationships with – and between – both 'home and host' (2014:53).

Collins, however, does not link findings to capital, which I provide as an addition to the use of the term here. Nedeclu (2011) provides an analysis of transnational habitus that exist due to information technology. Nedeclu interrogates how technology reinforces habitus across borders, and the paradox that technology can also increase assimilation into a current field.

This approach is important to my research, as the findings provide comparable outcomes to my empirical data:

In a migratory context, the Internet becomes a tool for social innovation, reshaping concepts such as national borders, space, time and mobility. ICTs produce new networked lifestyles, facilitate socialisation beyond borders, and enhance migrants' capacity to harness otherness, make decisions and act across borders in real time, generating new transnational habitus in the long run. (Nedeclu 2011:1340).

Nedeclu's use of the phrase, 'new networked lifestyles' encapsulates the findings in my research on the use of social media to reinforce social and cultural capital through online presence and interactions. Moreover, there was an element of creation of self as a UK Latvian, sharing experiences with other UK Latvians that they had not met. Using the internet to develop social and cultural capital is described by Cicchelli and Octobre's (2023) as a way of reshaping symbolic boundaries. Further, the internet removed space as a barrier which previously existed, the participants can now speak to their friends and families in 'real time', whilst expanding their knowledge beyond UK and Latvian borders (Cicchelli et al 2018) supporting the enhancement of a sense of cosmopolitanism. New networked lifestyles are therefore new ways of reinforcing cultural and social capital using technology. My participants used social media to keep in contact with their families and to build new friendships. Recasting themselves as Latvians in the UK. The use of social media and technology can be considered as a method to support settling into a new place, as it is still possible to gain from social capital previously established through social media use and to build new relationships based on shared migration experiences.

A further finding in my research was that the participants described an increased use of social media over time, with three (Mirna, Eve and Muttu) explaining how vulnerable they were when they first arrived in the UK. Their ability to network and gain social capital in the UK relied initially on common language with other Eastern Europeans, however, over time they have used social media to build networks in the UK and to reinforce them in Latvia.

For my interviews I introduced talking themes and invited participants to expand for an extended time on their use of networks. During the interviews, it became evident that online networks are an essential, daily element in the ability of the Latvian participants to settle and work in West Yorkshire. Their capacity to maintain strong relationships in Latvia led to discussions on the participants' use of social networks and near, physical community structures in West Yorkshire, such as Latvian Saturday schools, churches and Latvian community centres.

Building on empirical observations I have made thus far; near and physical community structures were essential to maintain social support in the past because of temporal and spatial barriers in accessing friends and family in Latvia. As I show in this chapter, with the development and uptake of smartphones, participants have been enabled to easily contact friends and family in Latvia. The participants had more difficulty contacting friends and family until 'smartphones' became more widely available. Eve joined the local Latvian Club when she arrived in West Yorkshire. I argue that this shows how, over time, the use of physical community support appears to be reducing for these participants.

I set out to demonstrate in this chapter that for some migrants, physical networks have been replaced in prominence by digital communities. As Komito (2011:1076) observes: ‘face-to-face communication with family, relations, and friends is hindered by distance, since the cost (and disruption) of transportation precludes frequent contact.’ In this situation, Komito (2011) found that ‘new technologies had a transformative impact’ (2011:1076) on social life. Digital communities are therefore important in supplying and enriching social, cultural and economic capital. Contemporary advances in digital technology mean that for the Latvian participants in this study, family and friends in their country and place of origin continue to be the most important social network in terms of social capital in the form of emotional succour.

### **7.1 Developing the Bourdieusian paradigm to incorporate an understanding of digital technology and migrant digital capital.**

As Newell *et al* (2016) describe research that interrogates the importance of digital technology and migration has become increasingly relevant with the growth in the availability of internet access for migrants. Digital technology is a crucial element in the migration process, aiding with the logistics of migration, for instance: person movement, the negotiating of transport from one area to another, and finding accommodation and work (Collins 2014, Nedeclu 2011). Digital technology provides and enhances social capital and can be argued (Chapter 2.8) to support emerging cultural capital (Prieur and Savage 2013; Savage *et al* 2015; Friedman *et al* 2015). How digital technology supports migrants is exemplified by its essential role in helping my participants find support in the process of migration and in establishing and reinforcing their networks. I argue for recognising the

importance of a social – digital approach to understanding the process of migration for those migrants who can capitalise through access to digital technology. It has been argued that digital technology enhances personal agency, to build support networks, establish and re-establish friendships and family ties (Hiller and Franz 2004, Komito 2011). As I show below, a digital device is more than a tool and worth more than its practical application; it can represent social and cultural capital and provide emotional succour. Through providing a link to the internet a computer or mobile device can support the maintenance of kinship and enhance personal competence. It is important to understand the benefit that digital technology affords Latvian migrants as combined with and enabling cultural, economic and social capital. However, depending on the participants' habitus they had differing access to digital technology, Nedeclu (2011:1353) supports my finding, stating that:

In spite of the large democratisation of access to digital communication devices and the Internet, many migrants still face difficulties in engaging in everyday communication patterns with their 'home' countries due to political issues, legal status or lack of computer literacy.

For my participants, access to digital technology has improved overtime. Initially, the three older participants, Eve, Mirna and Mutty, had less access to mobile devices and the internet. In Chapter 5 their negative experiences during their journeys to the UK are explored. They were initially reliant upon established formal networks and this reliance was exacerbated by their lack of capital from the use of technology and the internet. Compare this to Roman, who states that he, 'Just booked ticket at friend's house and flew here next day'. However, all of my participants now use digital technology to enhance their communications with their

friends and family in Latvia. Further, they have all had their second interview with me via Facetime. Mirna described how: 'I Facetime my daughters, one in US and one in Latvia. It has helped, especially during COVID.' My participants have increased their use of Facebook for communication purposes during the COVID 19 lockdown period. As Sab, the youngest of my participants described, 'I can talk in real time with my Mum in Latvia, I don't feel so homesick then.'

Habitus plays a part in accessing and using digital technology and, therefore, in using it to maintain social relationships (gaining social capital), reinforce knowledge and learning (cultural capital) and to explore job opportunities (economic capital). This was the finding from my empirical data and how people can find work more easily because of their access to digital technology is also discussed in Chapter 5.

Alencar (2020) describes the sociotechnical perspective as an awareness of digital technology as it interfaces with people's social situation. This sensitivity to the situation provides a platform to examine affordance and capital. Here, by extending Alencar's knowledge of the social-technical perspective, there is a consideration of social-digital-technology as capital, in respect of its application and use by the case study participants in the migration process.

Building on the idea in Alencar's (2020) study of affordance and digital technology, Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of cultural and social capital are particularly relevant. As Alencar (2020) argues, digital technology can be understood in terms of a person's perceptions of its utility, and it is the Latvian participants' interpretations of the benefits that digital technologies afford them that are considered here. Capital and digital technology use can

develop over time, and the participants described how they used the internet to develop skills and knowledge which then placed them in better economic positions. In this study, it is evident that the Latvian participants' ability to utilise digital technology was not just reflective of their acquisition of online knowledge and skill, but also of their ability to access the internet, which relied on their economic capital. The participants' ability to use English and online software to translate language depended on their digital knowledge and skill. As I show in my analysis, digital technology provides and reinforces cultural capital, supporting the acquisition of economic capital by aiding an understanding of new laws and regulations in destination countries.

## **7.2 Winners and losers in the Field of migration and digital technology use.**

As participants related in Chapter 5, adapting to new surroundings relied on their development and use of social networks. These social networks enhanced their social capital; however, the nature of social networks is not always being in-person or through an organisation. This section considers how the use of digital media technology can provide capital in the form of maintaining family and friendships over distance. Offering what Wilding *et al* (2020:639) argue to be the 'widely recognised' essential use of digital technology by migrants as, 'essential to the maintenance of transnational families.'

The participants' ability to use social media and other aspects of digital technology greatly enhanced networking possibilities with family and friends in the UK, Latvia, and for those with technical knowledge and skills, across the globe. Some participants had better access to digital technology because of their financial situation; nevertheless, for most of the



Latvian migrants in this study, access to the internet was possible before and after migration to the UK. This access increased over time and was mediated according to affordability. For instance, the Latvian participants in this study migrated to West Yorkshire between 2007 and 2015, with ownership of a mobile phone and internet use being circumscribed in the earlier years for financial reasons. Clearly, this reflects economic capital, as I go on to discuss below.

### **7.3 Economic capital, digital technology use and a lack of cultural capital.**

At the time of the interviews, participants all had a degree of social, economic and cultural capital and were able to use digital technology as a tool in the migration process, for instance, to maintain social networks in Latvia and to build new ones in the UK. However, for some participants, such as Mutty, aged between 58 - 67 (arrived, 2008), Mirna aged 58 - 67 (arrived 2010) and Eve aged 37 - 47 (arrived 2009), the use of mobile phones with internet access was not initially available to them. Like findings in other research (e.g., Hiller and Franz 2004), the data provided by the participants demonstrates that their age, when they migrated, cost of access to the internet and knowledge of technology all made a difference to them. A lack of ability to access social media resulted in a reduction of social, cultural and economic capital. When moving from one country to another, stress can be placed on a person's cultural, social and economic capital. As Thatcher and Halvorsrud (2015:88-89) propose, the experience of upheaval either within or between societies can create: 'socio-political transformation' and 'situations in which individuals' habitus will be put to the test with regard to its durability and capability of withstanding external pressures.' The lack of ability to transfer social and cultural capital is an example of where

the participants' habitus has been put under strain. Mutty described the hard decision that she had to make to come to the UK. When she came, she brought her youngest daughter with her. As Mutty stated, 'When I came to UK I only know where I was working. I had too little English and no mobile internet like today.' Mutty was initially unable to use the internet to find an employment agency that could help her search for a better-paid job. However, some other Latvians working on the farm with her helped her find a local job agency and to access the internet. They were there from college for their summer holidays; Mutty's habitus, her cultural capital gained from a professional life in Latvia and a university education, was not transferable to the UK.

Although for many of the participants the internet supported relationships and provided chances to retain connections, this was clearly not initially the case for all. Participants' use of digital technology afforded some more of a decreasing and compressing of time and space, shrinking distance spatially and temporally (Latvia is three hours ahead of GMT). However, for others their digital technological capital afforded only a limited ability to stay in communication with friends and family in Latvia. As stated above, this improved for Mirna, who, for instance, had only limited opportunities to remain in contact with her daughters who were both in Latvia in 2010. Initially, she did not have a mobile device or access to the internet and was unable to find work for herself, as Mirna stated, 'When I first come to UK, I didn't speak English, I had no internet'. Mirna could not access support from an online network of friends, family or Latvian Associations, 'I was so lonely, I missed my daughters and couldn't talk to them'.

She commented that she was at the mercy of the agency she paid to bring her to the UK, to find her accommodation and a place to work. As a result, she reportedly felt lost and paid

money for services that she did not receive. Mirna stated, 'I was employed by agency, I had to work hours they said. I had zero-hour contract.' This is negative social capital. Mirna was only able to access social capital from a small network of Russian speaking Polish cleaners who worked alongside her and gave her friendship and the social capital that she needed to feel she could carry-on. Within this group of friends there were people who had access to the Internet, and Mirna was able to contact her family in Latvia. This demonstrates how social capital can change overtime and how it can be employed, 'to produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits' (Bourdieu 1986: 52). The new social network that Mirna made in West Yorkshire enhanced her emotional support via social capital, and further, through discussions with her Polish friends she gained the idea to change her job and seek employment as a care assistant, which provided a better income, enabling her to purchase a computer and to access the internet. As Mirna stated,

As I got more money, life in the UK improve. I now speak English better; I read in English and use computer to look up words I don't know.

This demonstrates how social capital can support other capital and 'secure material or symbolic profits.' (Bourdieu, *ibid.*). This form of sharing of information can be considered to reinforce migrant communities and, in this instance, social capital gained from associating with a small group of colleagues. Through using her computer and practising her English with current colleagues, Mirna is now able to converse with patients at the nursing homes and hospital facilities she works in. She says that her English: 'Flows freely'. Further, Mirna can communicate online with her daughters, one of whom now lives in the US and one who has remained in Latvia.

When Eve arrived, she was only able to use a mobile phone that did not have access to the Internet. As Eve stated,

I was home sick for three months when I came here. At first, I didn't have my daughters with me and could only phone them. Now the younger daughter is here. My heart is there, it is my place. I think that this is normal. I appreciate Latvia more now.

This is evidence of how a lack of digital-technological capital can have a negative impact. As is described in Chapter 5.4, Eve's lack of capital in terms of being able to access and use the internet meant that she was more open to experiencing exploitation. For instance, Eve paid a fee to the Latvian agency that had recruited her, and they did not provide the promised job. She was fortunate to have a chance meeting with another Latvian who offered employment. Eve describes how she and a friend went to a shop and found work that way,

Together we went to the shop, a man heard us talking in Latvian and he said: 'Okay I will give you a job.' He got us a job in a Greenhouse. He got us a National Insurance number, everything. It was difficult still as I didn't know English. Thinking about it, it was crazy.

Nedeclu's (2011) argument (above) illustrates that even though there is increased access to digital technology, this access is not evenly distributed. Nedeclu (ibid) argues that migrants can have difficulty using social media and other forms of technology to engage in daily communication. This inability to access digital technology is due to distinct factors, for instance, as my participant, Oliver, described, people may not have the knowledge, and therefore, cultural capital to use digital technology. Others do not have the money to access

digital devices to connect to the internet. Both factors are based on a deficiency of capital, and, because of this lack of access, there is an inability to develop capital in this field.

The inability to access social media and other digital technology can, therefore, lead to a lack of social and cultural capital. Social capital, because it is not easy to communicate and to gain the support of friends and family who are in another country. Further, without digital technology there is an increased difficulty in creating new connections in the UK, demonstrating how cultural capital can be affected when it is not easy to access information and knowledge without digital technology. This put both Mirna and Eve at a disadvantage. The disadvantage that Mirna and Eve experienced contrasts to their cultural capital in Latvia, where they both gained degrees and professional status. This lack of transference of cultural capital is discussed in more depth in Chapter 5. It has been demonstrated that cultural capital in respect of job type can transform over time, with some professions such as those in IT, emerging as having greater cultural capital (Savage 2015).

A demonstration of how access to social and cultural capital can be affected because of a lack of digital technology, was provided by Oliver, who described a farm where all the Latvian workers were unable to speak English and had limited access to the internet. As Greco and Floridi (2004:75) argue, a lack of access to the internet creates a 'digital divide'. This lack of ability to engage with the internet means that some people are disadvantaged in terms of accessing information, services and support. Greco and Floridi (*ibid*) suggest that the digital divide is not solely an issue that arises between so-called developing and more developed countries but can also arise within countries reflecting wider: 'generational, geographical, socio-economic and cultural divides' (*ibid*:75), and can have a detrimental impact on opportunities for those more vulnerable.

#### **7.4 Social capital and digital technology use.**

This section discusses the participants' ability to enhance their social capital using technology. Many of the participants discussed using an online platform to gain comfort, social capital and emotional succour, as Harris and Franz (2004:749) state in their discussion of migration: 'online participation is an important means to increase social capital'. This was demonstrated in this study, for instance, by Roman whose principal social life was online with his siblings in West Yorkshire or in Latvia, and if he had time to meet other Latvians in West Yorkshire, this was arranged online.

As he stated,

I used to go gym, but since I am HGV driver, I have no time. I just see some friends, we chat online, maybe meet for some food. [Roman]

Mobile phone technology provided an essential link for Roman to be able to communicate with his wife and children when he had to complete driving jobs over several days. Further, he uses digital technology as a means to support his cultural capital,

I was listening to Tony Robbins a motivational speaker on a book. But I fall asleep when I am listening. I like it. I don't need to translate from English to Latvian I just know what it means now.

The internet reinforces ties and emotional bonds (Baym, 1995, Wellman and Gulia, 1999) and this is illustrated by Sab, who below describes her regular online interactions with her mother in Latvia:

Calling with video it's like being here. I was cooking and making salad and talking to my mum on the computer. I can sit in the kitchen and drink coffee and be on the computer talking to my mum. [Sab]

This demonstrates that it is possible to retain communication links with family in Latvia via social media sites. Furthermore, carrying-on daily tasks whilst chatting is a normal activity for Sab and her mother, which they had managed to recreate online. As she put it: 'In the kitchen I can drink tea or cook and just chat with my mother. She is in her kitchen in Latvia.' Sab explained that she is close to her mother and the use of an online platform to see each other helped her to feel less homesick. This regular contact provides Sab with emotional warmth, retaining what Sab describes as 'closeness' with her mother and the social capital that is gained from this. It was important for the participants to maintain relationships in Latvia using social media, providing a clear sense of belonging for some. For instance, as one participant, Ada, aged 26-36 with a small child, described using a Latvian online mothers' group, a version of the UK 'Mums' Net' organisation.

As Ada stated,

I go online to ask Mums like me about kid's health. They are living in UK, sometimes in Latvia. They have the same experiences. [Ada]

Here she has established online friendships and talks to other mothers about children's health matters. Ada described how the group was ideal for her, as the other women often shared similar experiences and she could explain her needs in Latvian. Ada also used e-commerce to buy specialist Latvian food and other items such as Lavazza coffee. As she stated:

I love strong coffee. I have low blood pressure so I drink a lot. I like Lavazza coffee; do you know it? I like go online order Lavazza for my coffee machine at home. I go a Latvian chat site about coffee. Everything about coffee, machines, kinds (laughs).

[Ada]

Relating online with members of interest groups, family and friends in Latvian and Russian fills a gap that other organisations, such as the Latvian Association, had traditionally satisfied. The only person in the study who attended the Latvian Club regularly was Eve. She used the club to put-on dance displays with her Zumba class and attended traditional events, such as the Christmas Fair. Eve is aged 37 - 47 and has only one close family member in Latvia. Eve also attends church near to her home. As Eve stated,

I attend church. There I met nice English peoples. I do Zumba, there is a mix of people in that group. Italians, Greek. The Zumba in the Latvian club has more Latvians. [Eve]

Although Eve gains social, economic and cultural capital from these in-person activities, social media enhances them. Eve's activities are therefore augmented through social media, which she uses to remain in contact with her daughter in Latvia and to promote her dance company and business in West Yorkshire.

Although not benefitting anything like as much as Art and Regi (Section 6.5) from the use of digital media, this form of cultural capital has been notably emergent for Eve.

For most of the participants, social media and digital technology enable them to find a sense of community that they could not find elsewhere. Their needs were not met by established



clubs and societies. Baldassar (2016) argues that there has been too much focus on physical places, public and private, and not enough on forms of 'virtual co-presence' (Baldassar 2016:153) that are achievable through video, telephone, Skype, Facebook or Twitter. The role those physical institutions in West Yorkshire, such as Latvian clubs, Saturday schools, activities and churches, played in the past was described by the participants as no longer as necessary. Roman stated, 'I too busy go Latvian Club. I have work, the kids. I have no time'.

Further, Olga described how some Latvian workers only have the network of workers as their friendship group, and that this social capital is supported through the use of digital technology. As Olga stated:

When I worked on the farm there were other Latvians there. Most of the people there Latvian or Lithuanian. What surprise me on farm that's people could be here for eight years and not speak English. I been here for five years and I can speak English okay. You can understand me okay. They just don't leave farm. They work, they use internet, they drink. Then they go back Latvia. They not leave farm!

There was a commonality of use of digital technology. However, this use provided capital in varying degrees.

#### **7.4 Emergent cultural capital and digital technology use.**

As is discussed in Chapter 2.8, Savage (2021:264) describes how some people's cultural capital has developed exponentially vis-à-vis 'more commercial and contemporary forms of culture (such as popular music, sport, information technology).' One of my participants, Regi, is the epitome of this observation. He is employed using his digital technology skills,

plays basketball with other young professionals in West Yorkshire and loves garage and rap music. Regi has found his cultural reality through social media; being able to access information using digital technology has provided him with social networking opportunities as well as cultural and economic capital. He came to the UK in 2011 and is aged 26 – 36 and described how he uses the internet and social media to stay in contact with his family in Latvia:

I stay in contact with my family in Latvia. They've been here for holidays as well. I don't go back so often. I like to save my money and go travelling with my friends. We've had some great holidays. I've been to Thailand and Australia. I could never afford to do that if I was living in Latvia. I feel like I am more connected to the rest of the world because I live here.

Here, and in Chapter 5.1, it is demonstrable that connection to 'the rest of the world', a form of cosmopolitanism reinforced through a lifestyle based on digital technology, its uses and privileges, creates an emergent aesthetic. This lifestyle is sought by other participants, for instance Joanne and Tiberius. Joanne spends much of her time with her son and working in a gym, but loves to travel, as she stated, 'Since I come to UK, I go on holiday every year. I never do that in Latvia'. Further, Tiberius stated, 'I play basketball, you can see I am tall! I also go to the gym a lot, travel with my friends, we go on long haul holidays, Los Angeles, Thailand, Australia'.

There was some crossover of interests due to the snowball sampling technique. However, in terms of being part of a group who have similar experiences of emergent cultural capital, the majority of Regi's immediate friendship group, which he has made in the UK, work in computer technology, but he also mixed with others with whom he played basketball.

Furthermore, because of the nature of their work, Regi's friendship group is mobile, and some have moved from West Yorkshire to the Southeast and to other countries, but he remains in contact with them, and does not feel that distance is an issue. Regi has gained immense social, cultural and economic capital using digital technology. As discussed in Chapter 8, Regi was not concerned about Brexit, because of his emerging cultural capital working in IT, he earns, 'well over' the amount of annual income that the UK Government has stipulated as a minimum for migrant workers. Further, he explained that if he is not able to continue to work in the UK, he will go to Germany and work there. Regi stated:

All my friends work in computer programming. I have friends in Germany, if England don't work out, I go work there anytime. [Regi]

Art is aged 26 – 36 and arrived in West Yorkshire in 2013. Art has accumulated cultural capital in terms of his education and experience in computer technology. He worked in IT before accompanying his then girlfriend to West Yorkshire, where they both started degrees at a university. Art undertook a degree in Computer Science. He described how he did not realise that there were other Latvians living in West Yorkshire until he met one on his course. However, even given Art's clear cultural capital - his first-class degree in Computer Science - whilst having to also find employment from the second year of his degree, Art explained:

I was taken advantage of for our rent, as when we came, we only booked three days' accommodation, and had to find somewhere. We were charged £200 each to do checks on us.

This finding demonstrates that even with emergent cultural capital, being able to use digital cultural capital at a high level, supported with access to the internet and the ability to use it well, it can be difficult to negotiate new surroundings as a migrant. However, compared to my other participants, both Art and Regi have achieved better paid, professional status employment and this is due to their technological ability and lifestyles based on connections they have maintained using technology.

There is a difference in lifestyle between my participants who work in digital technology and those who do not. This is due to economics and emergent cultural capital. All the participants use and value digital technology, however, some gained more from it. The value placed on gains from digital technology is cultural capital. There has been an 'erosion of boundaries between the aesthetic and the economic.' (Prior 2005:123). Certainly, aesthetic as valued by my younger participants is taken here to reflect 'a modern visual culture' (Prior 2005:123) and moreover, one based squarely in the use of, and gains from, digital technology. Art and Regi's lifestyles differ from my three older participants, and also from other participants in their age group who do not have the same access to economic, social and cultural capital, and therefore cannot indulge in the same aesthetics. For instance, as Rait stated:

I spend time with friends here, like at parties, we get together and eat food. We don't drink too much. We used to have a dog here. But he was such a pain. He used to pee everywhere. We work long hours so we had to give him to our friend. We got him from Latvia. He was so lazy.

Even the aesthetic of pet ownership was a burden on Rait, who works extremely long hours doing night shifts in a factory. Most of my participants have modest lifestyles and work long

hours in non-professional jobs. They also often have caring responsibilities; this is not shared by Art or Regi. As Olga stated,

I am married now and have a 2-year-old, so I'd say she is my hobby! I do go to a Zumba group with other Latvians at the Latvian Club.

The use of the Latvian Club was unusual in my case study. In terms of illustrating emerging cultural capital and its ties to other forms of capital, it is useful to contrast Art's experiences with his mother's. Like most of my participants, Art does not use any Latvian Associations or clubs but uses social media to keep in contact with his friends and with his family, to whom he is close. Art's mother, a teacher, came to West Yorkshire to work but returned to Latvia after a 'couple of months'. The gap between cultural capital which is gained and used in Latvia, for instance, teaching qualifications and experience gained in Latvia and those qualifications gained in the UK is exemplified through a consideration of Art's qualifications and his mother's. Art's mother has a Latvian teaching degree and years of experience, whilst Art has a BSc in Computer Science gained in the UK, with some experience in IT. Art can be seen to have emergent cultural capital and is able to use his qualifications and experience in digital technology to live a middle-class life in the UK, whilst his mother had to work in a factory in the UK as her Latvian qualification is not recognised.

My mother came to Britain to make some money and stayed just for a couple of months. She is a teacher and could only get factory work.

This demonstrates that qualifications and experience gained in Latvia do not equate to cultural capital in the UK, unless, as in the case of Art and Regi above, the skills are

particularly easy to transfer and desired, for instance, those in computer technology enhanced by HE qualifications gained in the UK.

Being able to use digital technology well and to use the internet and social media expertly, all represent forms of emergent cultural capital. Therefore, it is not qualifications and experience per se that creates the capital that supports the Latvian participants. It is the ability to access and use digital technology and the internet which supports the participants' ability to settle in the UK.

Art stated that:

I think that I am living in a bit of a 'white collar' bubble. I know other Latvians who have experienced some harsh things, but I am okay. I have settled in well here; when I was with my girlfriend, we had a nice flat and two cats. Now I am thinking about moving to Singapore and working in IT there. I have an interview there in January. In the meantime, I am going to Bangkok next week for a month, to get a feel for the place.

Art is aware of his current cultural capital, and the social capital that he gains from networking with his friends online and the bubble he describes consists of fellow Latvians who work in IT. He explained how he has formed his own small network of middle-class Latvian IT professionals:

Since moving to the UK my main hobbies have been travelling. I never wanted to do this much when I live in Latvia, but now I do it with my friends.

In Latvia, Art could not afford to travel. Art uses social media to remain in contact with his parents and he is in close contact with his brother and sister who both moved to West Yorkshire just after Art. Art described how working in computer technology has provided him with social, cultural and economic capital, in terms of friendships, work satisfaction, personal skill development and financial reward. It is his use of, and career in, digital technology that has afforded him this lifestyle. As Art explained,

If I moved to Singapore and then decided to move back to Europe, I would choose the UK over Latvia. Only my parents remain in Latvia, and I am happy seeing them occasionally, for a visit. The lifestyle here, for me, is a 'white collar' experience, I know that for some other Latvians that they have higher qualifications than their job and they have a worse experience. I like the way I am treated with respect at work.

It is therefore Art's perception that his 'white collar' job in West Yorkshire affords him a lifestyle and benefits that other Latvians do not enjoy. He is sure that this is due to his UK qualifications, skill and experience in computer technology. Having a degree from Latvia does not equate to a graduate style of employment in the UK. Similarly, Bourdieu's (1996) description of the benefits of elitist education in France, focuses on how prestige is garnered through the experience at the elite school or university, and how this in turn provides embodied as well as cultural capital. Therefore, cultural capital in the form of recognition and the respect of others and how this translates into personal confidence and dispositions is not reflective of the quality of education, but of others' perception of that education. The aesthetic appreciation of qualifications has changed, those in digital technology are demonstrated here to be interpreted by my participants as providing increased cultural

capital. Furthermore, qualifications in English are also considered by my participants to have more value.

The use of digital technologies did provide cultural capital to varying degrees. For example, Aiva who arrived in the UK in 2011 uses the internet to socialise on Facebook and to stay connected to her friends who are working in other EU countries. Aiva values digital technology as a tool for enhancing her English language skills, as well to stay in contact with others. As she stated:

Back in the day, you know, there wasn't really any access to the internet, so I remember, like, I would.... Even when I was a kid, I would like American music, not Latvian music. I would get these magazines about American music, and they would come with lyrics to songs, and I would go through them with the old dictionary, and I would look up every single word that I didn't already know. 'Cause I had to know what it meant. And I would look-up and just check it out and that's how I learned as well, so, I don't know, from movies you know. I don't watch any movies that have voice-overs or anything like that, just English. I don't even want to hear anything like that, with voice-overs or even subtitles. For me, I don't know, I like to learn, especially now as I live in England. You have to speak English.

Digital technology further enhances my participants' lifestyles by offering opportunities to continue studying, to seek work and travel as well as supporting the retention of established relationships and developing new ones. Further, digital technology provides a medium for



entertainment. Just as Aiva enjoys watching films in English, Janis stated: 'I like watching Netflix, films in English, not with any subtitles'.

The use of digital technology, especially internet TV was common, Rait,

I learned English from the computer and from films. Watching with subtitles.

Social media became increasingly important for one of my participants, Joanne, during the first COVID-19 lock-down in 2021 as she was unable to work, and gyms were closed. Joanne described how she posted short, 'street work-out' films on social media platforms, to inspire others to use everyday items to work-out within the spaces available to them. Joanne further explained how using digital technology in this way kept her in touch with people she regularly worked-out with and supported at the gym. During COVID-19, digital technology assisted Joanne to maintain her social and work networks. The affordance that digital technology can offer in terms of ability to gain cultural capital in the form of qualifications, skills and access to information is accentuated when focusing on migrants for whom English is a second language and who do not have a social network in place in their destination country.

## **7.5 Conclusion**

It can be concluded that digital technology affords the participants the ability to invest in social networks and to develop and extend these networks, therefore, to grow their social capital. Further, it provides them with opportunities to progress cultural capital and to enhance economic capital. Overall, digital technology provides emergent cultural capital, to varying degrees to my participants. As is demonstrated in Chapter 5 and in this chapter, this

emergent cultural capital is not just apparent in physical forms, economic gains, or social maintenance, but also in helping to produce greater confidence and a changed sense of identity in terms of an increased cosmopolitan consciousness.

It is demonstrable in this chapter that although Latvian tradition, culture and 'being Latvian' is described as important by all of the participants, they socialised outside of the Latvian Club, often with other Latvians, but also with others who shared their new interests and a commonality of language. My participants did not, overall, participate in organised Latvian activities. Participants used social media extensively to arrange meetings. Their main connection to Latvia, apart from Latvian friends in West Yorkshire, is through social media and online networks.

Participants experienced a form of emergent cultural capital that can be described as digitally enhanced migration, and this supported their success in remaining in the UK. However, this was experienced differently depending on the participants' habitus. The use of technology, especially social media, is demonstrated here as supporting capital, and successful access to it depends on habitus. Further, even though the use of digital technology for most of the participants has become more of a reasonable choice of action, this choice depends on the individual. The term reasonable choice applies here as my participants describe an increased use of digital technology that has become more important to them. Therefore, their use of digital technology can be explained as a 'reasonable choice' because, for instance, instead of phoning home using a landline telephone, they use a digital phone, enhancing their experiences through a digital process where they can see their families and friends in Latvia. This builds their social capital and the choice to do it is automatic. A further explanation of this form of reasonable choice is that

people do not stop and think whether to write a letter using pen and paper or using their computers / digitally in the UK field; the use of digital technology has become an entrenched part of habitus to the extent that its use mirrors Bourdieu's (1990:9) explanation of Chomsky's generative grammar. On the whole therefore, people do not make rational decisions to use digital technology to enhance their capital, it is just the reasonable choice that the field and their habitus provide for them. In progressing research in this idea of digitally enhanced migration there would need to be a reflection on peoples' habitus and the field from which they emigrated. Most certainly, the cultural capital concept of digitally enhanced migration needs to be used as part of cultural capital and in respect of peoples' habitus. Therefore, digitally enhanced migration is not a stand alone concept, it cannot be, it is not a 'determining cause' (Bourdieu 1990:10) for migration nor does it enhance migration in the same manner for each of my participants.

In this chapter, I have considered factors that helped my participants to settle in West Yorkshire. In the next chapter there is an exploration of my participants' thoughts on returning to Latvia or remaining in West Yorkshire.

## Chapter 8 Thoughts on Returning to Latvia

Building on findings from previous chapters, here there is an examination of participants' descriptions of events at macro and micro level that have intertwined with their habitus to influence their sense of belonging and their feelings about continuing to live in West Yorkshire. Such a consideration of macro and micro experiences is described by Ryan and D'Angelo (2017) as a necessary part of understanding migrants' sense of belonging. Further, Bourdieu (1986) created the capital paradigm to understand the influences on habitus of events at macro and micro levels. Bourdieu (1998) exemplifies this in his discussion of the Soviet political field and how it contrasts with other political fields (1998). Therefore, events within the political economy of a field influences the habitus of those within it, here there is an exploration of this vis-à-vis Brexit and COVID-19, alongside factors such as interpersonal relationships.

The main finding of Chapter 5 was that personal and societal crises impacted upon participants, uprooting them from Latvia. This was true for those Latvians with either Latvian or Russian as a first language. Here I am providing the idea of 'uprooting' as a dynamic process that can lead to a greater 'understanding of relations within networks' (Hess 2004:178). This form of uprooting process, as Hess theorises, is not a 'spatial and temporal fix' (2004:180) but a dynamic process that can lead to a greater 'understanding of relations within networks' (2004:178). Hence, belonging is not a dichotomy where the participants in this study stated that they belonged in one place or another, but part of a complex and dynamic process influenced by their social capital, for instance their network

relationships, spatial and temporal circumstances, as well as issues in the macro socio-political economic field. Therefore, in this chapter I explore uprooting and rooting as ongoing dynamic processes, which reflect the participants' personal interactions, capital, time and place.

In terms of capital, rooting in one place is more likely to occur if participants have less mobility capital that can be utilised to move and settle elsewhere. Rooting is therefore a process closely reliant upon capital as capital can aid rooting if a person wishes to remain in the UK or can support movement if they wish to return to Latvia. The active nature of the terms uprooting, and rooting, are like notions such as embedding and dis-embedding (Hess 2004; Ryan and Mulholland 2015) or 'differentiated embedding', used by Ryan (2018: 233) to highlight different circumstances of her interviewees. In my thesis, the difference in status focuses on participants' capital.

Accordingly, this chapter begins with a consideration of two macro socio-economic circumstances experienced by the participants in West Yorkshire, with attention given to participants' use of their capital in dealing with these as potential crises. These crises are Britain's exit from the European Union (henceforth, Brexit), the Covid-19 global pandemic, plus the socio-economic and political factors linked to both that influence participants and their daily lives.

### **8.1 Consequences of macro events on participants and the effects of crises**

In Chapter 5, I discussed crises as overly taxing, unusual occurrences that pushed people beyond their normal ability to function (Scileppa, Teed and Torres, 2000). These occurrences can occur at macro as well as micro level, and, as May (2017:2189) states: 'crisis means

upheaval. Situations become uncertain and are accompanied by fear and anxiety.’ May (2017) continues to describe how crises that occur at the macro level, which is at state or global level, have an effect at local level. Through extending this reasoning, crises at macro level affect *individuals* at local level. Here there is an exploration of how participants describe the impact of these crises in the UK social-political-economy vis-à-vis their capital. Throughout this thesis, I have focused on the ‘ability to deal with’ situations as couched in the participants’ social, cultural and economic capital. This thesis, therefore, considers the socio-economic status of the participants.

Socio-economic circumstances creating crises differ, and prior to their move to the UK the Latvian participants all highlighted the Latvian economy and associated crises as influencing their migration. In most cases, that is for twenty of the twenty-two participants, the Latvian economy and the social policy decisions made by the Latvian Government in the aftermath of the 2007 recession exacerbated personal crises. For example, Janis stated, ‘In Latvia it is hard to earn good money and everything is so expensive. I had to live with my sister and her husband because my dad didn’t have room for me and my mum died when I was 15. It was an easy decision for me to come to the UK.’

Crises at macro and micro level have intertwined to lead to participants migrating in the past and it is therefore important to investigate how the current crises may affect them and whether they feel prompted to return to Latvia. Describing how the recession in Latvia had an impact on their migration decisions often led to discussions on depopulation of Latvia, for instance there being: ‘hardly any people in the countryside.’ (Oliver). Similarly, Rait stated:

I think Latvia is losing so many people still. When I go to my city in Latvia, when we go outside in the evening the streets are empty. It used to be much busier in the past. There has been a big change. There were plenty of people ten years ago. Now in my city in Latvia, when it used to be called Gold City, it's now called Ghost city.

There are still some tourists, but mostly German cities. It has a famous waterfall so some tourists still go. Some people go back to Latvia, after two or three years of saving here. They go back and buy a house or apartment. So, they don't have to rent anymore. The law in Latvia is very weak there. They work 40 hours a week and only get paid £300 a month. We get that a week here, more even. [Rait]

Moreover, participants were drawn to describe their attachment to Latvia, often reflecting on its rurality and attractiveness: 'We have four regions and all of them are really beautiful places' (Oliver).

Similarly, Aiva recalled the beauty of the Latvian landscape, stating:

I miss the beautiful nature of Latvia, that is one thing I miss about it. The nature is completely different from what it is here. All you have here is just like fields. We have forests, oh my god, like, I think more that 50% of our country is covered in forests. It's so green, whenever I go back home and I get picked-up at the airport and we start driving out of the capital. I am just looking to the window, I am looking to the forests. At the trees and, I don't know. It's just like all the things like that, you don't really think about it on a daily basis. But when you go home, it's like: oh my god! I've missed this! I haven't seen that for so long. Things like that. [Aiva]

As I discuss throughout this chapter, the participants' sense of being Latvian is entrenched in this feeling of belonging to the Latvian landscape, and this finding is applicable to those with either Russian or Latvian as first languages. The participants are clearly conscious of the changes in the landscape that have occurred because of migration.

Many places are, like dead, there are no young people. Young people tend to leave. Empty places, empty roads, it's just so empty. Like, I went back to the place we used to go swimming and even the path down to the river has, like grown over. There's no life. It's strange, weird to go back and look at things when everything has changed. (Joanne)

Participants are conscious of the changes in Latvia and as they identify strongly with place, the social construction of their childhood identities, for them, feels hollow. They blame the government for these changes in Latvia: 'It all starts with the government, once the government stops caring about people, that's when the problems start.' (Joanne).

Participants reflected upon changes in Latvia whenever Brexit was introduced into the conversation, suggesting some awareness of the possible implications of BREXIT for themselves. However, overall, participants felt that they had settled into life in the UK: 'I am settled in well here' (Art). However, this was not the case for all the participants. For instance, three participants who had spent their adult life in Latvia and had left children there, did not feel like they belonged in the UK. Having to continue to live and work in the UK represents a personal upset: 'This does not feel like home here to me. I am always thinking about going home. I was home sick for three months when I came here.' (Eve). Alternatively, nineteen of the participants, aged 18 – 36, who had spent their working lives in the UK liked the benefits of the EU Freedom of Movement Provision: 'I have settled in



well here. I've bought a house here, so I know that I will stay here. I miss the countryside in Latvia, but there is nice countryside here as well. I can go back and stay there when I want'. (Janis).

However, this sense of 'feeling settled' was contingent upon freedom of movement, as Art describes below, when this EU citizenship right to move freely from and to the UK is removed, workers are faced with the dilemma to remain or to move back to Latvia. Even for those who have a sense of belonging in the UK, the ability to return to Latvia for a holiday is important. As Rait stated: 'We have settled in well here. When we go to Latvia on holiday for seven days, we want to come back here. We like it here. Home is home, we are calling this home now.'

## **8.2 Rooting and Uprooting**

Previous research has focused on the socio-economic status of EU migrant workers vis-à-vis the 2007 recession (Bygnes 2017). My thesis moves beyond the socio-economic status of the participants and their experiences to incorporate other aspects of social networking and cultural capital as crucial factors in understanding participants' decisions about emigration. The empirical data in this study indicates that the ability to deal with situations (crises) varies depending on the participants' cultural, social and economic background. For example, both Art and Regi were not as imbued with personal crises as the other twenty participants, and consequently they coped better with the economic crisis in Latvia. Art's and Regi's relative capital differentiated them from those whose personal crises, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, were exacerbated by a lack of cultural, social and economic capital. As explained

in Chapter 7, both Art and Regi used their specialist knowledge and qualifications to gain well-paid jobs and further qualifications in the UK. Art and Regi explained that their skills are sought in the UK after and these digital technology skills provide both Art and Regi with emergent social capital (Savage 2015), meaning that they were able to plan more easily when migrating from Latvia, than the other twenty participants because of their relatively better off backgrounds. As Regi stated, his move to the UK and subsequent plans have been orchestrated to: 'Just engineer out all the problems of life.' The level of planning behind Art's and Regi's decision to move is notably greater than that of all the other participants.

Further, the economic and cultural status of Art and Regi enhanced their social networks. Regi related that: 'I have loads of friends in the UK. I have social friends, technical friends and old friends from Latvia. I have English friends and Indian friends. I play basketball. I am the kind of person who would settle-in anywhere.' (Regi). Therefore, their job statuses and technical skills enabled them to grow their friendship networks. This ability to 'settle-in anywhere', can be linked to a similar finding by Friedman and Laurison (2020), who argue that this is not a natural quality, but one gained from habitus which has become embedded social capital. Art also described the foreign holidays to long haul destinations that he would take with the friends he had made while working as a technology professional. Art and Regi's social capital was therefore different to that of the other twenty participants: their social, cultural and economic capital enabled them to feel 'settled' into life in West Yorkshire, but this status was more reflective of rooting as opposed to being rooted. The distinction between rooting and being rooted is the lack of permanence to rooting, for instance, the participants all still describe themselves as Latvian, whether they have Russian

or Latvian as a first language. Nineteen of the participants reported harbouring a desire to return to Latvia, and two of the three who do not, Art and Regi, wish to work elsewhere, other than the UK. Thus, rooting is settling, but without permanency. However, just like roots reach out and touch the fabric of the soil around them, people gain from settling in an area and so can those who they touch.

There may be no plans from the participants to return to Latvia, however, they may have a desire to return 'one day.' During the first tranche of interviews, for instance, Art described how he had settled into life in the UK, but that he was thinking of moving to Thailand for work, indeed, he had just had an interview for a job there.

Art and Regi's circumstances demonstrate that the importance of economic capital should not be underestimated. Gaining professional positions in the technology sector was extremely beneficial, not just in terms of financial reward, but in social and cultural capital gains. Decisions to emigrate, however, are not solely based on economic decisions. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, choices to emigrate are based on habits and often influenced by differing forms of crises. Emigration is, therefore, more complicated than a reaction to a crisis event such as recession, and as Akopova & Ruža (2010) observe, whilst people migrate for work from Latvia, the move is often not solely for socio-economic motives; the participants were influenced by socio-psychological reasons. My study supports the importance of socio-psychological reasons to understanding participants' ability to overcome their personal crises in Latvia. Even for Art, there have been economic hurdles, for instance he stated that: 'I had to start work full time during the second year of my degree. I managed to do the degree, get a first, and work.' Both Art and Regi have extensive social networks in terms of friends for both and family for Art in the UK. However, they have

not become rooted into life in West Yorkshire to the same extent as the other eighteen participants aged 18 – 36 who had spent their adult working life in the UK. Art and Regi have the cultural, social and economic capital to be able to choose increased flexibility and the ability to move. Art and Regi's economic, social and cultural capital provide them and their social network of IT professionals with greater opportunities to travel and live elsewhere. The other twenty participants, although expressing a greater desire to return to Latvia, have become more rooted in West Yorkshire, and certainly during the first tranche of in-depth interviews, although they explained their love for Latvia and desire to return, most felt that it was not possible or desirable to do so. The data gathered from the second tranche of interviews during 2021 and the COVID-19 crisis (undertaken online) differed from the original findings as the participants had begun to feel more economic concerns and less embedded in West Yorkshire due to the politics, legislation and consequential social reaction to Brexit.

The depth of rooting in West Yorkshire from twenty of the participants was therefore notable in the data from the first tranche of interviews undertaken in 2020. Even if, as stated above, the participants did not actually want to be in West Yorkshire but desired to be in Latvia, they felt established in West Yorkshire, had raised families there, and many had worked their entire adult lives there. Essentially, they had settled in West Yorkshire and described a sense of belonging. There has been an argument that there is a temporality to migration and that it is circulatory in nature. For instance, Engbersen and Snel (2011) describe the liquidity of migration, contextualising it as a flow between places, whilst Illés (2021) analyses the circulatory nature of migration in Central Europe. Thus, there has been a

focus on migration within the EU as being short-term and temporary (Constant and Zimmermann 2011; Doornik 2013; Engbersen et al 2013).

As described above, my findings from the first tranche of in-depth interviews for this thesis did not mirror the expectations of fluidity and circularity described above, but found that the Latvian participants, most of whom had worked their working lives in West Yorkshire, had established long-term roots there. Ryan (2018) supports this finding through an analysis of Polish migrants, showing how they often stay in London for a period beyond that which they originally planned. The findings from the first tranche of interviews reveals that participants also stayed longer than intended. Eve stated, 'I don't want to stay here, but I have been here for years, I have worked for years in factories'. Further, as Roman stated,

I don't know why I stay. The time in the UK fly. It's like you work, then have weekend off, then work. So, after six months, you think, okay, I stay this year. Then okay, I stay one more year, then that's it. I meet my wife and we stay in the UK forever. (Roman).

Similarly, Lexi stated, 'I just come here to earn money for college, now I am still here'.

Hence, Ryan (2018) describes how research in migration proposed that migration would be circular in the EU, however, this is not her findings with her Polish cohort and as noted above, it was not a finding from the first tranche of interviews in this thesis. Ryan (2018) explains that over time her Polish interviewees became progressively more embedded into their lives in London. In Chapter 7 of this thesis, there is an analysis of how modern digital technology supports this ability to settle in the UK. It enables participants to stay in touch

with their networks in Latvia whilst building new social networks and settling into life in West Yorkshire.

Although participants stated that they remained Latvian, their description of rooting themselves in West Yorkshire reflected a changed sense of identity and they tied this to a different worldview. As Akopova and Ruža (2010) posit, emigration leads to Latvians forming different worldviews, and the empirical data in the present study supports this argument. For example, the Latvian participants felt that after being active members of the British economy, they should be more accepted in the UK. They often felt, as argued throughout this chapter, that they belonged both in Latvia and in the UK: 'I like my home here. I feel 'at home' there, but I miss being in Latvia.' (Lexi).

The participants' description of the different worldview they had acquired since moving to West Yorkshire reflected what they considered to be increased confidence and knowledge. They stated that they had a feeling of confidence which did not affect their sense of belonging to Latvia but made them feel more like part of the wider world, as Olga states in Chapter 7 and here:

I don't think anymore: "Oh Latvia is the best place or has the best way to live." I can appreciate and understand different people.' (Olga).

Other participants echoed this idea: 'When I go back home, everyone just seems so narrow minded, and I'm like, this is not for me, you know? Oh yeah, this place has changed me a lot as well.' (Aiva). The ability to integrate with people from diverse cultures was regarded as a bonus by the participants: 'I feel like it is a richer life just having all different people.' (Joanne). The participants considered that they had changed, for the better, for instance,

Mirna considers that, in terms of identity she has changed considerably. She said that she is: 'Not just more knowledgeable about the world' and explains, as is discussed in Chapter 5.1, how she has an increased sense of cosmopolitanism and can get on better with people from different backgrounds.

### **8.3 The Effects of Brexit on Participants**

At the beginning of 2021, the UK government ended the free movement of EU citizens and introduced new immigration controls for newly arriving EU citizens. During the second tranche of interviews in 2021, the participants expressed a greater knowledge of the settlement scheme, demonstrating an increased cultural capital. However, they became increasingly concerned about Brexit and how it might affect their lifestyles, for instance, in terms of travel, work and the potential for recession.

All participants had lived in the UK for five years before the transition period ended on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2020 and therefore have their rights protected through the EU Settlement Scheme (EUSS). However, this right did not translate directly to cultural capital in the form of useful knowledge. As Sumption (2020) details, with the ending of the Freedom of Movement Provision, EU migrants had to apply to the UK Home Office's EU Settlement Scheme (EUSS) but not all of my participants had done so. This could be because the participants had become jaded about life in West Yorkshire, not solely because of Brexit, but due to COVID-19 and subsequent restrictions and loss of earnings.

Participants described being 'okay' in the main with Brexit, although they did not have the knowledge and cultural capital to reflect fully on its implications in 2019, negotiations had been finalised at this point, however, were not to become fully effective. Although seven of

the participants did express concern, anger and even fear, overall, they were not worried. They felt more uprooted by the reactions of English people around them, and they described having a sense of being let-down by those who had voted for Brexit. However, they did not blame everyone that they worked with, or all those English people that they knew through their social lives, often regarding those who voted for Brexit as lacking knowledge and education:

I know more about English politics than other people know about British politics. My colleague, he is twenty, he say to me: "Oh, I go vote for Brexit party". How can he vote for Brexit Party when he doesn't even know who the prime minister is? (Roman).

During the second tranche of interviews, which occurred a year after the first tranche, the Conservative Government had retained power and the participants were experiencing the COVID-19 pandemic (as stated elsewhere, as a consequence, all of the second tranche interviews were conducted online). There was a change in their sense of optimism and a linked sense of reduced belonging in the UK. The redrawing of the EU border therefore affected participants' sense of belonging. As Balibar (2010:315) states, borders are, 'never reducible to a simple history of conflicts and agreements between neighboring groups and powers,' the spatial property of borders is therefore unstable. This notion is examined by Bigo (2013:118) who questions the feasibility of geographical borders, 'in spaces where organisational forms such as the European Union have destroyed the link between border, citizenship, territory and sovereignty.' Balibar (2010) describes this change in borders as fluid in a practical and historical sense, with the location of borders, whether local, national



or international, reflecting needs in the political economy. Arguably, locating EU citizens, with legal rights guaranteed by the EU within the UK, places the border within the person.

Participants described how people began to: 'Look at us different' (Olga). Lexi described how when all of the friends that she had come from Latvia with had returned, she struggled to make English friends and how, after the 2016 Brexit vote she experienced negativity from some of the English people who worked in the same factory as her. As she stated: I tried to make English friends at work, but after Brexit people just looked at us different. My friends here now are mostly Latvian, some are Polish.'

During the first tranche of interviews, not all participants were aware that the deadline to apply to the EU Settlement Scheme was 30th June 2021. In their interviews they discussed the EU as if it were separate to them and their status: 'Brussels is too bureaucratic. If it could be changed, the EU itself is good idea.' (Rena). There was a detachment between the participants' understanding of their status in the UK, their identity and belonging in the UK and their actual EU legal status. They were, however, aware that they had to demonstrate settled status in the UK for five years of continuous residence and participants were all confident that they could do so. However, this confidence did not equate to a full knowledge of the UK Government's expectations on them as EU nationals. Cultural capital in terms of access to the internet and online resources was not enough to provide confidence for the participants in their knowledge and understanding of the UK Government's expectations. For instance, Aiva, who has cultural capital in terms of internet access and English language skill, was not completely confident. Her knowledge did not reflect the full demands of the EUSS requirements, and she reported that this was the situation with her

friends as well, an established group of Latvian, Polish, Lithuanian and English people, a diverse social network with whom she can exchange ideas:

Who knows? A lot of people are speculating. A lot of people are scared that they might kick us out of the country or something. I don't think it's very good. I've been here for eight years. How can they kick me out? This is my home now. So, I'm not going back, I don't care. (Aiva).

It became clear through the interviews that participants felt that they should be able to remain, but they were not aware of their full rights and the expectations on them. Often, they relied on their family and friends' networks for information, which did not provide them with the full facts. Art and Regi were confident in their ability to remain, however, they have greater social, cultural and economic capital and their ability to access information supported by their technological skills. Further, they are employed as technology professionals and their services, as discussed previously, are demanded internationally. Nedelcu (2011) argues that migrants can be prevented from accessing the internet, because of cultural, social or economic capital. This lack of access undermines the potential of technology to support knowledge acquisition and access to information regarding Brexit. Skill is needed in negotiating online media as it can provide conflicting information. However, Nedelcu (2011:1341) further states that there is a potential for increased citizenship using digital technologies, 'new technological capabilities are transforming the significance of the territorial rooting of migrants' social life.' The use of digital technology can be linked to habitus and capital, as it has a potential for dealing with crises and furthering habitus, however, this still depends on initial individual habitus.

During the first tranche of interviews, which took place between October and December 2019, some of the participants did not believe that the Conservative Party would win the general election. For instance, Oliver stated that: 'I can't see Brexit happening if Labour get government now. Why want Tory Party?' Further, Roman stated that: 'Everyone I know want new government.' Therefore, some commented on how cemented they were to the belief that Labour would win, was the firm hope that Brexit, to the extent that it would affect the participants, would not continue. They gained their information from online media. This demonstrates that without the knowledge, that is cultural capital, to find information online that is relevant and not misleading, the participants could not develop further knowledge and a true picture.

The participants expressed a lack of knowledge of the changes in their status and how these would affect them however, they did not want to dwell on the issue of Brexit. They voiced their upset and even anger at their negative experiences after the Brexit vote, and during the subsequent preparations for Brexit. Continuing in this chapter, the participants discuss Brexit as a potential crisis, and above as creating a situation in which they have had to reflect on their self-perception and how others see them. Brexit represents for all the participants a complete change in status and consequential citizenship rights.

This wish to ignore Brexit as a potential crisis reflects unrealistic optimism (Sharot *et al.*, 2011; Puri *et al.*, 2007). Unrealistic optimism is described by Sharot *et al.* (2011) as a common phenomenon. During the second tranche of interviews towards the end of 2021 some took place with participants who had returned to Latvia, after spending their entire adult working lives in West Yorkshire.

These were participants who had said that they would not leave the UK. For example, in his initial interview, Roman stated: 'I think we will stay, because we have kids.'. At that time, Roman described how hard it would be for his sons to learn a new language and for them to settle in Latvia. He had also bought a house in West Yorkshire. The evidence provided by Sharot *et al* (2011) illustrates how a lack of consistent information can lead to confusion and false optimism. 'I've worked here for ten years; how can they make me go?' Roman stated during the first tranche of interviews and yet by the second tranche, he and his family had returned to Latvia.

It is evident that participants considered that the Brexit vote had an influence on their relationships with English people in their extended communities, such as workplaces. This is a form of 'social bordering' in the sense that the outsider is created and maintained reflecting their different national status. This occurred at the school gates:

The only time I went out was to drop off my eldest boy to school and pick him up, and, like English people, like mums, they not really want to talk with me. I don't know, they are talking with each other, with me never they want to start to talk. I'm dropping off my child to school here (--local primary--) for four years but I didn't talk with nobody. (Ada)

This can be linked to Becker's (1997) argument that people can be deemed to differ enough to be considered deviant and caste as outsiders. Of interest in this thesis is how the participants did not mention incidents occurring before Brexit. When Ada described her experiences at the school gates, she was tearful. This had been an upsetting experience for her. In the view of participants and their experiences, their acceptance in West Yorkshire

was reduced after the Brexit vote and the years that followed. As Art described in the second tranche of interviews:

There was a guy who I only know for a year or so. My brother helped him find an office job in recruitment and he was pretty successful. He was recruiting people for factory jobs in Leeds. He said that after the Brexit vote, he started hearing a few: 'you are not welcome here' type of texts from angry Brits when they were removed from their shift due to poor performance or when they were removed from their shift due to attendance. He ended up getting a job offer from someone he know back in Latvia, so he went home. I'd say Brexit played a big role in that decision.

Of note here is the use of texts instead of face-to-face comments to create a barrier between the workers described above and the Latvian supervisor. Pötzsch (2015:102) argues, in his consideration of the use of technological borders, in the 'era of the iBorder' there are new methods of identification where the interpretation of data and application to the individual is done through a depersonalised technical schema controlled by machine algorithms. This application of technology to the process of bordering is apparent in this relocation of border. However, as Yuval-Davis (2018) illustrates, this form of construction of a boundary is at once exclusionary and inclusive, it does not have to be a physical line, but it does rely on imagination. It is a way of delineating a group of belonging. This feeling of exclusion and dislocation was described by the participants as creating confusion and a feeling of alienation and is discussed below by some of the Latvian participants in this study.

The creation of borders by political and legal institutions have complicated effects, not as simple as the Latvian participants feeling less like they belong because of the actions of others. As a result of the re-siting of the political border between the UK and the EU and the subsequent forming of an EU border in the individual EU worker, (rights which are reinforced by continuing EU rights under the 2018 Withdrawal Act), the Latvian participants have sustained legal rights supported by the EU.

As Morris and Qureshi (2021) state, the movement of EU workers to the UK has become increasingly difficult and their right to remain judged now in the same manner as any third country national (if they arrived after December 2020). This creation of rules and regulations that are directed at one group in the community of West Yorkshire (EU citizenships) differentiates them, creating them as 'other' (Becker, 1997). This was voiced by participants, who said that since Brexit things had changed, however, this situation became worse during 2021 and the finalising of the Brexit conditions.

#### **8.4 Socio-economic and political circumstances in the UK, thoughts of return to Latvia or actual return.**

Art left Latvia to study for a degree in the UK. He had the cultural, economic and social capital to move and settle easily. When asked to reflect on Brexit and COVID-19 during the second tranche of interviews, he reflected on his Latvian friends who had returned to Latvia, and one such Latvian associate is discussed above. Here is Art's further contribution on the issue of socio-economic and political factors that have affected him and his friends:

I know three people who moved back to Latvia, and all moved in the year leading up to COVID. The first one only came here for education and went back after graduation. She is my friend's sister and she never really felt like home here. She never had the intention to stay. Another one is a close friend of mine, she graduated here, made some friends and started a career. She then went back because of her family, she felt like Brexit will make seeing her family more complicated in the long term. [Art]

The issues with Brexit can, therefore, go beyond the necessity to adhere to the administrative pressures to abide by EU laws and regulations. Here, Art raises the potential problems of accessing family and friends in Latvia. This was an issue that has also been raised in connection with COVID-19 and is discussed below. The main point here is that a loss or perceived loss of access to family because of a change in the macro political economy (Brexit) has led to a crisis and a sense for some of a potential loss of social capital. The second point that Art makes, about his friend returning to Latvia is the attitude of the British people (which is discussed above) his friend met during his work, is also mirrored by other participants. This change in attitude described by Art corresponds in timing with the reduction in UK citizenship rights (as the UK left the EU) and the realigning of the EU border within the individual EU citizen in the UK. According to the participants, this has influenced other Latvians' decisions to come to the UK: 'I know that many people would like to come to the UK, but they can't because they are not accepted and coming here is more complicated since Brexit'. (Sab).

Roman stated that he knew of some Latvians like him, who had returned to Latvia because of the changes in travel and movement rights as well as issues with British people since the

Brexit vote. He described how things had become worse during 2021: 'I know some people who returned because of both Brexit and COVID. Now things are worse when you go to work, people treat them different, like they don't belong in UK'. (Roman).

As discussed in Chapter 5, Roman has a heavy goods driving licence which he paid and studied for in the UK. During his first interview he explained how he was not 'too worried' about Brexit, because he was buying a house in the UK and had been here for over a decade. However, when social distancing and the first 'lockdown' was introduced in 2020 because of the COVID pandemic, Roman found himself out of work. As a self-employed delivery driver for medium to large manufacturing companies, he described how he found it difficult to find work. His savings were soon depleted, and he could not get furlough payments (a claim for wages through the UK Government's Coronavirus retention scheme) because he had become self-employed at the beginning of 2020. Roman decided to return to Latvia at the end of 2020 and did not gain EUSS in the UK. This empirical data further supports May's (2017:2189) findings, quoted above that: 'Crisis means upheaval. Situations become uncertain and are accompanied by fear and anxiety.' The macro level events of Brexit and COVID-19 combined with Roman's personal economic capital resulted in his difficult financial situation during lockdown. These were further exacerbated by Roman's cultural capital, which can be understood in this circumstance as the ability to find work in Latvia and to operate as an EU lorry driver freely throughout the EU: 'COVID meant I had no work in UK'. (Roman). His social capital can be understood as being depleted after the Brexit votes and more so as Brexit was finalised in 2020.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, participants described how they found it particularly difficult, not just financially, but in terms of not seeing friends and family in Latvia. 'When



we could go our country and see family it was okay, but then COVID came and we felt, like, trapped in UK.' (Roman).

Furthermore, due to the impact of COVID-19, and the consequent closure of schools, those participants with young children felt that they could not provide their children the educational support they needed through home-schooling because they have English as a second (or third) language. Joanne stated,

My son, he work hard at school and has his goals. Now with COVID he is missing them, he can't reach them.

Further, as Ada stated,

I can read it but I don't know what it means. I have computer the kids use it, but I don't get it. Do you understand it?

I looked at the picture of the work that Ada had for her primary school aged child, and it took me some time to decipher it. I have English as a first language and I am a qualified teacher with curriculum design experience. This demonstrates that the information sent home for one primary school aged child would have been difficult for a person with English as their first language to understand, let alone a person with English as a second language. There is room for more research that specifically considers children from English schools, however, there are European and US studies that reinforce the point: Primdahl *et al* (2021: 75) explore the difficulties their cohort of Danish teachers describe with supporting newly arrived migrant and refugee children. They state that:

Despite many efforts, teachers reported difficulties staying in contact with the learners remotely due to their limited access to virtual communication platforms and language barriers.

Digital technology access as a form of cultural capital is important in supporting learning, and issues of equity and language barriers can be argued to have been highlighted because of the COVID 19 pandemic (Pittman et al., 2021).

This is not decisive evidence; however, it could demonstrate how a lack of cultural capital, compared to parents who have English as a first language and experience of the English National Curriculum, might affect migrants. Another participant, Roman, described how he and his partner decided to use the online Latvian education sites provided by the Latvian Government to teach their sons Latvian over the course of summer 2020 in preparation to return to Latvia. Roman stated during the second tranche of interviews,

School was bad there for my son. When it open, he cannot walk home unless he is bullied. We think it better he go school in Latvia.

As mentioned previously, in the first tranche of interviews Roman had indicated that his intention was to remain in the UK.

The socio-economic circumstances experienced recently by participants in West Yorkshire have been exacerbated by COVID-19. However, as is illustrated above, it can be the lack of cultural capital (educating their children) and social networking ability, for instance, not being able to easily go to Latvia to see family or to meet family and friends that have moved to the UK, which results in some moving back to Latvia or seriously considering doing so.

### **8.5 Participants' considerations on returning to Latvia**

Given how participants in this study describe their fondness for Latvia, consideration should be given to the circumstances in which the participants could contemplate returning to Latvia. The participants described in Chapter 5 how crises in Latvia had created a distance between their means and their ability to achieve what was necessary for basic survival. As the distance between means and objectives widened in the UK because of COVID-19 restrictions and Brexit policies, it is not surprising that participants' conversations about the benefits of Latvia increased in the second tranche of interviews.

However, when considering a return from the UK to Latvia, participants did not believe that they had the capital to support themselves in Latvia. One participant, Olga summed this up:

That would be the dream. I would love to go back one day. I can't see that happening soon though, as I can't earn enough to live properly there. Some of the things that make me come here are things like the work actually is a little bit better here. But the main reason was for economic reasons because I needed to make some money. So, if I could make the same money in Latvia I would go back. [Olga]

Further, in interviews participants described a love for the nature and culture of Latvia and how leaving Latvia had been an absolute necessity. Aiva described how when she first came to West Yorkshire, she did not tell her friends in her Latvian hometown that she was moving. Aiva was concerned that she would be judged negatively. She feared that she 'wouldn't make it' in the UK and her friends would not only judge her negatively but also consider that she had abandoned them and their country. This concern over her social

network in Latvia reflects how important it is for most of the participants (twenty-one out of twenty-two) to maintain relationships there.

Aiva's fears about the changes in socio-economic circumstances in the UK raises questions for her about her ability to continue to find the means to meet her objectives here. Aiva has been able to work in two different jobs per week and explains how she enjoys working. For now, she could remain in the UK and to meet her objectives here, but her thoughts are on the future:

It's going to be the case that maybe, in the future, people who would like to move here, it's going to be even harder for them. Maybe benefit wise it's going to affect people. But I don't have kids, I don't care.

I don't know really, I'm not planning on moving but I'm thinking, I don't know what's going to happen in the future even with Brexit. [Aiva]

This point from Aiva highlights how participants' legal shift of status from EU worker in an EU country living and moving under the Freedom of Movement Agreement to one which demands recognition of a settled or pre-settled status as a right to remain creates choices. To remain in the UK involves a level of commitment and rootedness. This shift in the legal demands on EU workers in the UK which creates pre-settled or settled status for those who can stay, and work also levels a degree of permanency, which Aiva was working through in her conversation.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter there was an analysis of events at macro and micro level that were described by participants as influential. The significantly influential events to the participants were those associated by them with feelings of crises. However, caution needs to be taken in making any assumptions that events caused emigration, it can only be observed that the participants made a reasonable choice based on their habitus to emigrate. This accounts for why some people will emigrate given exposure to external crises, whilst others will choose not to emigrate. It depends on a persons' habitus whether they choose to emigrate or not. Hence, during extreme events and crises such as persecution people react differently to the emigration choice.

In this chapter, BREXIT was not considered as an event that created anxiety, especially during the first tranche of interviews. The COVID 19 pandemic created more feelings of crises. BREXIT was an issue and did not produce feelings of being uprooted, however, the consequences of BREXIT, the potential for recession, loss of earnings and difficulty in seeing family were influential factors, but these were also factors associated with COVID 19.

Therefore, the participants were conscious of socio-economic factors that could disrupt their ability to remain in the UK. They had moved to the UK because of socio-economic crises factors in Latvia, often doing so purely as an economic necessity and if the economy of the UK was no longer able to support them then they would consider returning to Latvia. However, the economy in Latvia was considered as not providing the necessary conditions for return for most of the participants. This denotes a lack of rootedness in the UK and it is only a lack of capital and perceived ability to retain and accumulate more capital in Latvia that prevents uprooting and return for many of the participants.

This completes the four analytical chapters in which I have discussed factors that have contributed to (and complicated) moving to the UK, settling here and (thoughts of) returning to Latvia. In the next, and final, chapter there is a conclusive summary of all the analytic chapters.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusion**

In this concluding chapter, there is a reflection on the thesis outcomes, starting firstly in section 8.2.2 with the participants' perception of their motivations for movement to the UK. Next, in section 8.2.3, there is consideration of the findings on participants' capital and habitus and how this supported their emigration from Latvia; and this expands to a section on capital and the ability of the participants to settle in West Yorkshire. This is followed by section 8.2.5, where there is a discussion on the participants' capital and the part it plays in their decisions to stay in West Yorkshire. Section 8.3 explains the principal contributions of the thesis and 8.4 provides reflections on methodology. Finally, 8.5, suggests directions for future research based on the findings of this thesis.

### **9.2 Overview of Findings**

#### **9.2.1 What were the motivations for the participants' movement to the UK?**

My first thesis question was to ask what motivated my research cohort to emigrate from Latvia to West Yorkshire. During the first interviews it became apparent that participants perceived crises as a major factor in their decisions to move. In response to this finding, I incorporated an exploration of crises and how it relates to the participants' migration choices. This reflexivity to the information provided by the research participants reflects the grounded nature of the research and the development of the research questions is discussed in Chapter 1 and the grounded approach in Chapter 4.

Therefore, the participants understood their emigration choice as largely based on their experiences of crises. It is important that I am clear here on what is meant by choices. This means the reasonable action (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) that people take given their personal habitus. Therefore, to understand choice, it is necessary to provide a consideration of habitus, and in this thesis, I have considered the participants' choices to emigrate through an analysis of the Latvian field, the global economic crisis vis-à-vis Latvia, and the participants' personal capital. Further, I have considered historical legacy in terms of capital before emigration and the changes in the Latvian political economic field. I discuss this analytical approach in more detail in chapter 3.

The contribution of technology to people's ability to make reasonable choices is considerable, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 7 and is discussed in more detail below in 8.2.3. As Savage (2021) suggests, the question of capital change as responsive to the use of the internet and digital technology and how this informs choice, is of interest as people have increasing access to broader field specific knowledge. Before digital media was available such access might not have been possible, or at least more difficult. Therefore, the reasonable choices my participants' make are increasingly informed by digital information as their access to digital technology grows, for instance, the ability to find accommodation and work and not to rely on agencies is discussed in Chapter 5.

Throughout my thesis, I have used habitus and capital to explore how and why the participants' migration has occurred, through analysis of the participants' history, habitus, capital and field. As is discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, the importance of habitus is that it can account for the reasonable choices people make based on their experiences and circumstances. As I have noted above, this reasoned choice is not the same as rational



choice (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:131). A rational choice, if it existed, would lean on an intellectual evaluation of circumstances and action would rest on findings, however when people make choices, they are influenced by their habitus, their perceptions, the doxa to which they are accustomed. The findings in my research demonstrate that during crisis situations people make reasonable choices (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) based on their knowledge, however, they can only do so to the extent that they can understand the field situation according to their habitus. My participants made the reasonable choice to emigrate based on their habitus and capital. Twenty-one participants, either had their university funding removed, government pay reduced by 25% or they had no employment prospects in Latvia. For twenty of the twenty-two participants, these factors were exacerbated by, or exacerbated, personal crises. Twenty of the twenty-two participants considered that they had no choice but to emigrate, and two felt they had a choice but that emigration provided better opportunities than to remain in Latvia. It would have been unreasonable not to emigrate, given their lack of accumulated capital that could be used to support them in Latvia. Furthermore, it would have been unreasonable not to use their capital, for instance, their knowledge of job opportunities in the UK, friends who had arrived in the UK, English language skill, ability to access cheap flights and to find shared accommodation. For those who had not already achieved HE qualifications or had these blocked in Latvia, the UK also offered them an opportunity to develop their capital in terms of skills, language proficiency, qualifications and experience.

However, understanding the reasons for participants' migration is not as simple as asking their perceptions, but also involves understanding the context in which those perceptions have been formed over time; and how perceptions will differ depending on habitus.

Therefore, the participants in my study made the decision to move to West Yorkshire, based on being able to use their capital to greater effect than in Latvia. For instance, cheaper rent in West Yorkshire than in Latvia meant less pressure on finding a well-paid job; their willingness to work night shifts in warehouses and factories provided my participants with UK pay that was three to four times more than they could have earned in Latvia. In addition, there was much higher child benefit, tax credits and better paid unemployment rates should they need support. Several used their digital *savoir faire* to research cheap flights and education opportunities. The crisis created by the great recession in Latvia resulted, as I have described in Chapter 5, resulted in what Hazans (2013) explains as a large percentage of the working aged population emigrating to other countries in the EU. Latvia has lost 9.1% of its entire population since the beginning of the twenty first century and 14% of its work-age population, three quarters of whom are aged under 35. Hazans (2019) argues that this large portion of the working age population emigrated because it would be unreasonable not to.

In my research, participants' emigration reasons are demonstrated to be grounded in crises that occurred at a macro field level, and which exacerbated or created personal crises for the participants. Habitus is significant in the participants' ability to deal with the crises they faced; as I have explored in Chapter 5, twenty of the twenty-two participants experienced personal crises that were pivotal in their decisions to migrate.

Only Regi and Art, participants with relatively more initial capital compared to the other participants, did not suffer a personal crisis before moving to the UK. The reason why they moved resonates with the second point contained in Hazans (2019:53) summary which is illustrated in Chapter 5.1.5, that even if people in Latvia did not experience 'direct economic

hardship', they were not content with developments in the Latvian political economy, which they perceived as blocking their prospects. Further, Regi and Art have extensive knowledge of computer technology due to their occupations working with developing software. They used digital technology to gain and reinforce cultural, social and economic capital.

The motivations for moving can therefore be understood as different depending on habitus. However, even if emigration was not directly due to impoverished circumstances exacerbated by the great recession, the prospects for people not 'experiencing direct financial hardship' like Art and Regi were regarded with increasing dissatisfaction. The idea of a blocked future is discussed in Chapter 5, where I explained how a lack of prospects for the participants is tied directly to a lack of educational opportunity in Latvia and how public sector pay was reduced by 25% percent. As I have observed, and participants have confirmed, food and accommodation are as expensive in Latvia as it is in the UK. Participants describe how, after the recession they experienced hunger, unemployment, reduced pay, a lack of suitable accommodation, personal instances of grief and loss, as well as what they described as a "blocked future" in terms of their ability to continue with their education. There were differing crises points for the participants. However, common to eighteen of the participants, an interesting finding is the inability to continue with education, which was described as impactful in terms of personal crisis. The inference is that their accumulated capital was not enough for them to be able to stay in Latvia, but their field specific habitus reflected a desire to continue to study and gain skills, often at higher education level. Unlike Willis' (1977) working class lads in the English field, the working-class Latvians could make the reasonable choice, based on their limited habitus, to aspire to higher education.

The idea of education in the UK was an attractive bonus gained from moving to West Yorkshire. A further compelling finding is that all the participants had only planned to come to the UK for a short period of time, often to save money to continue studying. Some participants were sensitive not just to the possibility of continuing with their education but also with the prospect of improving their English language skills. There were exceptions to this finding, such as the three participants aged over thirty-six who had already gained professional qualifications and experienced a working life in Latvia, who did not discuss education as a reason for leaving Latvia or as a bonus of living in the UK.

The empirical data gained from the in-depth interviews, points to aspects of Latvian infrastructure as presenting perceived risks, such as a lack of ability to continue in education, poor social security and public sector institutions, insecure employment or no employment and no affordable housing. This finding is important because it can be argued that issues in the political economy resulting from the legacy of Soviet colonialism have created a political economic field that was not strong enough to withstand the economic crisis. As McCollum et al (2017) describes, the economic infrastructure of Latvia was based on inward Russian migration and Latvian displacement.

Through an analysis of participants' descriptions of crises in Latvia, it is apparent that they could not employ their cultural, economic or social capital to overcome problems there. As Bourdieu (1998) illustrates, in tyrannical states, (his example was the old German Democratic People's Republic [GDR] of East Germany), it is not possible to accumulate capital as one would in other countries, Bourdieu's (1998) example being other non-Soviet occupied European countries, such as France and Germany. As described in Chapter 2, the

legacy of the recent Soviet command economy meant that for many of the participants' families there has not been the possibility to accumulate capital, which is a common feature of other EU countries that have not experienced Soviet occupation. For instance, in Latvia, as in Bourdieu's (1998) example of the GDPR, there is no tradition of property ownership even for the middle classes, nor any legacy of opportunity at all for non-professional or lower paid workers to acquire property or to save. As is discussed above, Hazans (2019) illustrates how capital gained through gaining a HE degree and professional status was tightly controlled by the Soviet Union and then Russia, with Russian being the main language in education until 1992, limiting the choice of degree courses available.

My participants demonstrated that they did not have an 'accumulation and inheritance' (Savage 2015:53) of capital. As discussed in Chapter 7, many of my participants' benefits from capital in the migration process have been gained using digital technology as an emergent form of capital. I have observed in the Latvian field, through examining secondary data, statistics (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia 2021; OECD 2022) and peer reviewed articles (Krisjane *et al* 2014; Kahanec, & Zaiceva 2009; Hazans, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2019, McCollum 2017), that the wealth division is notably more acute in Latvia, where a 'small wealthy elite class' is described by my participants as the same class that controlled Latvia during Soviet occupation.

It is clear and straightforward to understand that economic capital lies in the hands of a few people, the top decile in Latvia. However, the field and the development of habitus within it must be understood as resting on different forms of capital. As discussed above, Bourdieu (1998) describes the political economy of the command economy field as only offering political capital. Therefore, the legacy capital of the 'small wealthy elite class', is political

power. For the majority however, the Latvian field with its command economy to 1992 is described by the participants as offering no opportunity to accumulate capital.

It would have been unreasonable, as Hazans (2015) indicates, to stay in Latvia, as the participants could not use their capital to successfully exist there anymore. As Bourdieu argues (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), people are not stupid. This brings me to reflect, as I have occasionally throughout this thesis, on Willis (1977) and his observations on how working-class lads know they will get working class jobs; this is how they understand their futures given their habitus. In a comparable respect, my participants understood their likely futures, given their habitus, and this is what led to their emigration. Interestingly, Wacquant (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) reflects on Willis's (1977) observation in the same manner I have. However, if people are not stupid, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) states, there must be a reasonable choice made for those who do *not* emigrate. This has not been studied as part of the remit of my PhD, however, one simple factor could be that Latvians could move to the UK under the Freedom of Movement Provision as workers, or the spouse and children of a worker. Therefore, those who could not work, or did not have the social capital gained from close relatives or friends in the UK, could not make the move there.

### **9.2.2 How did participants' capital enable their move to the UK?**

The second research question asked how participants' capital enabled their move to the UK. In Chapter 5, I showed that participants used social capital in the form of informal networks when planning their migration to the UK. They described how acquaintances, friends and families opened routes before them that they could more easily follow, finding accommodation and better paid work. Therefore, through using these informal, ad hoc, familial or friendship networks, participants felt able to make the initial move to the UK,

often sharing accommodation spaces with friends when they arrived, dividing expenses and sharing knowledge. Some of the examples that were given by participants included getting help with opening a bank account, sharing accommodation (several people sleeping in the same room) so they could save to get bedsits, flats and even houses of their own. In Chapter 5, I explain in detail the participants' use of friend and acquaintance networks to find work. This demonstrates the importance of friendship groups in providing social capital, which in turn benefits cultural and economic capital. However, the participants were quick to insist that the assistance of others to move was only temporary and they outlined the use of their own initiative in growing opportunities for themselves, especially in terms of settling, which are discussed in more depth below in the next subsection.

The use of cultural capital to assist movement to the UK was less straightforward. It was distinct, however, as discussed in Chapter 7.5, in the application and use of digital technology, especially when combined with qualifications and work experience. In that chapter, I discuss how this use of cultural capital can be linked to emergent cultural capital (Prieur and Savage 2013; Savage *et al* 2015; Friedman *et al* 2015; Savage 2021), for instance, how participants' cultural capital, their knowledge of others, their cosmopolitanism, was supported through internet use.

Both Art and Regi's cultural, economic and social capital reflected their technical expertise. Their technical qualifications, based on computer language, were transferable in a different manner to those qualifications of other participants who could not gain professional employment, even if they were well qualified and experienced professionals in Latvia. They were both able to build on their qualifications and expertise in the UK, with Art describing his UK situation as being 'in a middle-class bubble'. Even in Latvia today (at the time of

writing), economic capital in the form of wages for those in the technology sector is greater than the average salary at €2,533 (equivalent to approximately £2,220) gross a month compared to the average income of €1,467 (OECD 2022). In the UK, Regi reported that his income far exceeds £36,000 a year.

Competency in digital technology represented one area of emergent cultural capital that was available in varying degrees to the participants and proved important in helping participants move to West Yorkshire. Art and Regi were able to use their educational experience and vocational qualifications to move into professionally paid careers. Where participants did have limited access to digital technology in forms such as personal computers and hand-held devices, they were less able to use social media to link with their friends and family in the UK before their move. Further, participants described how they initially found the process of settling in West Yorkshire much harder without digital technology. Participants' ability to access and use technology improved with time, and the link between social capital, maintaining connections in Latvia and the ability to settle in West Yorkshire, is an important finding. This suggests an important dimension to migration, a form of capital which aids migration - digitally enhanced migration, which I discuss in more depth below.

The ability to translate cultural capital into economic capital is not without barriers. Savage (2015:173) argues in his work: 'ethnic minorities have considerable amounts of cultural capital but have not been able to translate this into economic capital'. This is supported by my study, as it demonstrates that, although qualifications appear to reflect personal merit, they are an objectification of privilege. The way that educational experiences and qualifications gained in Latvia are understood by participants as undervalued in the UK, and



in Latvia as well, when compared to qualifications gained in the UK, reflects the perceived lack of privilege that they have because of the legacy of a colonised past. They perceive that their culture is undervalued as are their qualifications. Therefore, participants' cultural capital gained in the Latvian field did not always support their movement to the UK and capital lost its value for them as educational qualifications valuable in one field were not then recognised in another. However, the participants did demonstrate a legacy of confidence gained from their habitus acquired in Latvia, as 'long-lasting dispositions of mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986:243). Dispositions gained from education and environment, as Friedman and Laurison (2020) argue, can support a person in a field. This legacy confidence is based on their education to HE level (as discussed in Chapter 5, some had started HE courses gaining scholarships to do so) and the transferable skills associated with education to that level. Moreover, those with degrees demonstrated proficiency in seeking opportunities to further their education and hobbies based on acquiring knowledge, organising, and developing aptitudes and clearly recognisable academic pursuits such as studying and reading classic English literature. However, it was my participants with cultural capital based in technology and social media, who found it easier to settle in the UK. Therefore, emergent cultural capital in the form of English language ability and digital technology expertise, played a greater role in enabling movement from the Latvian to UK field.

The issue of language was discussed by the participants, and the findings indicate that language was reflective of historical legacy and of current access to cultural capital. For instance, the participants' discussion of the history of Latvia and their experiences of discrimination was reflective of their perception that those with Latvian as a first language

felt disadvantaged, while those with Russian as a first language also felt discriminated against. However, whether they spoke Russian or Latvian as a first language did not reflect on their cultural and economic capital in England. Instead, it became apparent that it was their English language skills and ability to gain qualifications in England that affected their cultural and economic capital in West Yorkshire. Moreover, the fact that the participants could not cope with crises in Latvia using the capital that they had was true for both those with Russian as a first language and those with Latvian as a first language. This lack of substantial capital for most of my participants supports a Bourdieusian (1992) reading of the situation in Soviet occupied countries such as Latvia. Namely, that due to the Soviet occupation of Latvia, it was possible to gain political capital; however, other forms of capital that might support the accumulation of capital, such as wealth, goodwill, qualifications, confidence and aesthetic appreciation, were not traditionally available in a meaningful way that could support the participants in the economic crisis. This is not to say that over time that the effects of colonialism might not diminish, and this has been investigated in this thesis with an exploration of emergent cultural capital.

Paradoxically, capital was gained from having Russian as a second language as this could be used in the workplace in West Yorkshire. Russian language ability was important in communicating in the workplace, as this is a common second language for Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians and Polish workers. In Chapter 5, participants discuss how in many workplaces, especially factories and farms in West Yorkshire, Russian is a language common to most of the workers. An observation here is that English or French are common second languages in countries colonised by the English or French. This aspect of colonialism adds to habitus legacy and does provide capital as it is useful to the participants as they

created informal friendship groups with others with whom they could communicate in the workplace.

In terms of my participants' class, Chapter 5 demonstrated that this needs to be understood as their cultural, economic and social capital. It is these forms of accumulated capital gained in the Latvian field, that interact to support their current social position. Further, as demonstrated in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5, my participants' ability to put down roots in West Yorkshire was reliant upon a historical legacy that is unique to the countries of Eastern Europe that underwent a comparable history of Soviet occupation. Therefore, my Latvian participants share a common second language and class identity with others from the post-Soviet countries of Eastern Europe. This enables my participants to expand their friendship groups, for instance, in the workplace, where they can meet and communicate with others who have Russian as a first or second language.

### **9.2.3 How did capital enable participants to settle?**

The third research question asked how participants used their capital to settle in West Yorkshire. In Chapter 5 the empirical data demonstrates that the use of social networks was often only in the short term. The amount of social capital the participants could gain from networks varied, and those who did not have social capital in the form of friendship or family groups, became dependent upon information from acquaintances. These acquaintances were other Latvians or speakers of Russian from countries such as Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldova, where Russian is commonly a second or first language for many, as discussed above. Over time, with increased access to digital technology, the need for networked social capital in West Yorkshire in respect of finding jobs and accommodation was reduced. However, those who did not have access to digital

technology, or the ability to use it well, were at a disadvantage. Therefore, digitally enhanced migration can be understood as reflecting the level of capital that the participants have because of access to technology in the migration process.

This reliance on social capital gained from informal ad hoc groups, such as family, friends or acquaintances was important initially for most of the participants. Two older participants did find work primarily only using agencies. The use of agencies was also evident for some of the younger participants who had few friends or family in West Yorkshire, therefore initially lacking social capital, and whose English (a form of cultural capital), did not support their access to jobs and services without agency support.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Keles (2015) indicates that most of the literature on migration focuses either on the migrants' use of formal networks or established informal networks. My findings provide a new perspective on this issue: participants in this study used established networks only in the first instance of migration if at all, and they were proud of their achievements living and rooting in the UK in an independent way. This finding indicates a move away from using established groups and organisations, such as the Latvian Club or places of worship, and seemingly toward being more self-centred and independent. However, my research participants were not more self-centred and independent. As analysed in Chapters 6 and 7, the use of social media also played an important in enhancing ability to communicate daily with friends and family elsewhere, including Latvia. This enabled new ways for participants to gain social capital and is part of the concept of digitally enhanced migration. As discussed in Chapter 8.3, Nedelcu (2011) focuses on social media as an important form of transnational connection and habitus maintenance for migrants. The findings in my study are that digital technology not only facilitates and supports the

migration process, but its use also enhances social capital through the maintenance of networks, cultural capital can be broadened or a broadening reinforced. In Chapter 5, my participants describe this form of broadening of cultural capital as cosmopolitanism, often not using that direct terminology. Further, my participants, (see Chapter 5) show how digital technology supports other aspects of cultural and economic capital for migrants, such as job training, applications and studying for qualifications. Habitus is accumulative and my participants' habitus has developed. However, not to the extent of acquiring a: 'transnational habitus.' (Nedelcu 2011:1341). A 'new transnational habitus' is not a direct term I am applying to my findings, as habitus is formed over time and Nedelcu's argument does not reflect the accumulation of capitals that form habitus. Furthermore, Nedelcu's argument does not consider how migrants can build entirely new friendships and support networks in an area and how this activity, although potentially enhanced using digital technology, may not rely on it.

Keles (2015) posits that an insufficiently researched area is how participants build entirely new friendships and do not only use established networks. The participants in my study described newly formed, ad hoc friendship groups as important for providing social contact. Further, as mentioned previously, they did not use established Latvian clubs, churches and community centres. Therefore, this finding adds to the literature because it highlights a move away from the use of established networks and cultural structures to the use of cultural, social and economic capital, to friendship groups loosely based on ethnicity, certainly on shared language, whether that be Latvian or Russian in this example. Cultural capital in the form of English language use enabled daily activity for the participants, such as

shopping, and the forming of networks. Participants' development of habitus in the UK and their consequential confidence rested largely on their English language skills.

As discussed above, the compelling theme is that cultural capital in the form of qualifications and work-experience gained in Latvia does not convert into cultural or economic capital in West Yorkshire, unless it is skill with English, gained in England or in a computer language. This indicates that capital gained in one field is not directly transferable to another, which is not a new finding. However, participants believed that their qualifications gained in Latvia were not just considered as lesser in the UK but were not as respected as comparable qualifications gained in other EU countries, such as France or Germany. Therefore, the legacy of Soviet colonialism led to participants' understanding that their cultural capital is lesser than that of other non-Soviet colonised European countries. This is a novel finding, especially as the participants were at pains to explain to me how demanding qualifications in Latvia are, for instance, directly comparing maths exams in the UK with Latvia and considering UK exams as less demanding and academic. It is their perception that a lack of cultural capital in the form of specific qualifications, for instance, those gained in the UK, and an initial lack of English language skill has led to many of them having poorly paid jobs in West Yorkshire.

Consequently, participants' perception was that because they arrived from an Eastern European country, their treatment and opportunities in the UK differed to those experienced from other EU countries, which are non-Eastern European countries. Therefore, their perception is that treatment depends upon the socio-economic culture of the field from which migration occurs. This is an important finding, because it is a reminder of the field and habitus legacies that colonialism has created, and which continues to occur in

Europe. Colonialism is not solely something which Europe has visited on the rest of the globe and needs to be understood as an active concept if it is to be fully appreciated and addressed.

Participants described the reduced use of physical spaces as removing some associations and groups and as reducing the availability of others, such as with one Latvian Club in West Yorkshire. This means that those without the cultural and economic capital to be able to use the internet effectively are disadvantaged. They lack information regarding regulations and laws, knowledge of Brexit and COVID-19, which could place them in danger or mean that they are vulnerable to abuse. All migrants to the UK need to access knowledge about the new environment into which they are settling, to be unable to find information and support, because it no longer exists in the physical sense, can lead to potential for exploitation. Therefore, lack of access can exacerbate differences in capital that already exist, as there will be those who are information-rich and those who are information-poor, who might struggle with gaining support.

In terms of a critical analysis of digital technology, migration, and capital, it is demonstrable that for participants physical networks have been replaced in prominence by digital communities. These digital networks can be exploited better by those with cultural capital in digital competence and economic capital in terms of accessing the internet easily.

Therefore, some participants have an advantage over others and this advantage will arguably be self-perpetuating. This will occur because the degree of affordance in terms of digital technology is something that can be developed by those with the capital to do so. The gap between those migrants who use digital technology as a communication stream and those who can develop it, change it and control it, provides that advantage in terms of

capital that will not diminish but will only grow. Therefore, as Savage (2015) demonstrates, those professionals with digital skills continue to emerge and develop their class advantage. As is discussed above, it is apparent that digitally enriched capital provides an increasing advantage for some compared to others, providing them with growing cultural, social and economic capital. This can be contrasted against a backdrop of closing Latvian clubs which traditionally provided social, cultural and economic capital and are no longer available.

### **9.2.5 What part does participants' capital play in their decisions to stay in West Yorkshire or to return to Latvia?**

The fourth research question... I have shown how crises were a motivational factor in moving to West Yorkshire, so crises experienced in West Yorkshire motivated a return to Latvia for those who have the accumulated capital to do so. Janis, Roman and Ada had all bought properties in West Yorkshire and described how they were now able to buy small flats or properties in Latvia outright, with their accumulated economic capital. Further, they had developed transferable skills in the UK and gained internationally recognised qualifications. For instance, as described in Chapter 5, Roman has a UK Heavy Goods Vehicle (HGV) licence he gained in the UK, which allows him to drive for a Finnish company driving goods throughout Scandinavia, whilst being based in Latvia.

During the first tranche of interviews the respondents were positive about their economic futures in the UK and any potential effects of Brexit, but, after experiencing the economic circumstances of COVID-19, this confidence was less evident in the second tranche of interviews. Although some participants were on the whole employed as 'key workers' in the food processing sector, or in retail, while Regi and Art could work from home, other aspects of COVID-19 did create a crisis which their capital could not address. For instance, not being



able to travel to see family and friends created a major dilemma, as did the lack of access to in-person education. The latter was due to the policy of home-schooling during lock-down and the inaccessible (in terms of not being adapted for those with English as a Foreign language or for those unfamiliar with the UK education system) materials sent home for children to use. The latter point was exacerbated because of their lack of cultural capital, such as having English as a second language and was problematic when dealing with the demands of the schoolwork sent home. A further problem was limited access to suitable technology. Further, those with school-aged children had not experienced the English curriculum as children themselves, so were unaware of the expectations. Janis, Roman and Ada all have school-aged children, and although they had stated that one reason they would not return to Latvia was that children would struggle to catch-up there, they changed their minds during COVID-19 and their closer experience of education in the UK. This experience spurred them to start teaching their children Latvian with a view to returning to Latvia. For as long as no crisis arose that prevented the participants from working in West Yorkshire, paying for a mortgage there or being able to return to see family when required, staying seemed beneficial. This suggests that if crises are a motivational factor and they arise in a new locale, this could present motivation for people moving within the EU to return to their country of origin, especially if, as participants described, that place is particularly beautiful or if family remains there.

Based on this data, I would argue that belonging is not a dichotomy where the participants in this study state that they belong to one place or another, but part of a complex and dynamic process influenced by their network relationships, spatial and temporal circumstances as well as issues in the macro socio-political economic field. The reasons

given for staying in West Yorkshire focus on positives such as well-paid work comparable to Latvia and the opportunity and ability to secure their own homes. However, the reasons for leaving Latvia were based on field crises (Iksen 2011) that exacerbated negative experiences of personal crises (Scileppa, Teed and Torres 2000). Importantly, the participants explained that their sense of feeling settled was contingent upon freedom of movement and this has been affected by both COVID-19 and Brexit.

Having over-viewed the main findings, I now move to highlight the principal contributions of the thesis.

### **9.3 The principal contributions of the thesis**

As set out in the literature review, social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) creates a relevant, critical paradigm that can be applied to an understanding of participants' ability to participate in social, economic and cultural life. Throughout the thesis, I have developed this understanding to incorporate a critical demonstration of how social, cultural and economic capital are interconnected and how digital technology can enhance the process of migration, the building of new social networks and the reinforcing of others across borders.

The notion of digitally enhanced migration seeks to capture and convey the understanding that digital capital has become a significant subset of cultural capital. This thesis contributes to the literature on migration as it provides a qualitative, in-depth examination of a group of people moving from Latvia to West Yorkshire. Although the empirical data is particular to this group, themes can be extrapolated and used as a point of departure to understand

differences in capital that are due to the historical legacy that people moving from Latvia, and possibly other Eastern European countries, have as a result of their Soviet colonial past.

Cultural capital has been used in this thesis as a tripartite of benefit: firstly, the ability to access, for example, the books, computers, private tuition, which Bourdieu (1986) describes as 'cultural goods'; secondly the 'institutionalised state' which confers privilege through objectification which sets people apart, for instance in participants' understanding, a degree gained in the UK compared to one gained in Latvia. Thirdly, this thesis adds to the Bourdieusian literature, as it examines the extent of certain aspects of cultural capital which are used by participants from Latvia, a post- Soviet occupied state, in their migration journey. This tripartite cultural capital is also the reflection of privilege, or lack of privilege, in the 'long-lasting dispositions of mind and body' (Bourdieu, 1986:243). As discussed above, the latter is the focus of recent exploration of class (Friedman and Laurison 2020). Moving from one field to another, whether this is because of class mobility, as is explored by Friedman and Laurison (2020), or one country to another, rests on the use of capital. Capital is therefore specific, temporal, spatial and subject to the demands of the field, that is the doxa, and the nomos.

This thesis demonstrates, adding to the literature on cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986, Grenfell 2014, Friedman and Laurison 2020), that cultural capital such as qualifications that are valuable currency in one field may not be respected in another. Moreover, participants provided empirical evidence that years of experience gained in one culture, in their case Latvia, are also dismissed as irrelevant. Therefore, the worth of qualifications and professional expertise are open to interpretation, they are not static currency, but rather, their meaning is variable and dependent upon the field in which they have been gained. This

is an important finding as it demonstrates that migrants from any place could have qualities that could be transferable (e.g., in a meritocracy) but which tend not to be recognised in the new location. The finding here is that the mask of meritocratic achievement (Bourdieu 1986; Savage 2015) is not just one which can be applied to classes within a country but also between societies. A finding, however, has been that digital technologies have offered and enhanced cultural capital for the participants in my study. Qualifications based on digital technology, such as those in programming languages, are transferable between different fields, providing a commonality of appreciation based on comparable digital languages and sought-after skill sets. It is therefore clear how Art and Regi have both benefited from their digital prowess, however, the skills associated with digital ability have been demonstrated as enhancing migration for all the participants to differing degrees. This thesis highlights, through a consideration of migration, the importance of digital technology in providing cultural capital and enhancing social and economic capital.

The participants demonstrated how they use digital technology daily to support their social networks. They use online platforms to share ideas with others, and do so in English, Latvian and Russian, to gain support in specific areas, for instance from online networks like Mums Net, which is accessible in Latvian and Russian and to keep in touch with friends and family. However, as is discussed above, this ability to use digital technology varied depending on cultural capital in this area, economic ability to access the internet and in turn to build social networks. The less the participants could use digital technology, the more they were potential victims of exploitation. Some Latvian migrants were therefore at a comparative disadvantage to others who had better access to digital technology. The participants have a varying ability to maintain informal social networks and to gain social capital using online

media, especially social media. It is demonstrable that the participants use their habitus and therefore capital in the form of digital technologies to aid migration.

Confidence in the use of digital technology, and the symbolic capital from rewards gained from this, are demonstrated here as providing a greater sense of entitlement, whether this is in being able to continue to work in the UK after Brexit, or to command a comparatively high wage. What has become apparent through analysis of the empirical data from this case study, is that, as Savage (2015) argues, certain areas of cultural capital such as professional skill in technology are emergent. Certainly, here the ability to access and use IT well, to the point even of being able to control software design and application, increased cultural capital. This digitally enhanced cultural capital was easily transferable between Latvia and the UK. Therefore, the habitus of both Art and Regi, who are IT professionals, was not diminished by their move to the UK, indeed, both state that their ability to increase qualifications, rewards and even their social network has increased. This finding adds to literature on migration (Ryan 2007,2011,2015; Keles 2015; Molina 2015; Reynolds 2015) that focuses on network building. As is discussed in Chapter 2, it is important to gain an increased understanding of cultural capital and not enough to rely on a consideration of social capital. This is because, as discussed in Chapter 2, social capital cannot be a stand-alone concept.

The findings of my PhD case study are contrary to Putman's (2000) argument that internet use will result in fewer opportunities for socialisation in the form of community reliance and support, and in less social networking. Indeed, there are not fewer opportunities to socialise, but different ones. The use of digital technology and especially social media allows for the accumulative effect of capital. Capital gained vis-à-vis digital technology clearly grew

between participants' arrival in the UK and their interviews with me. The more accessible digital technology became, the greater the quantity of capital was available to the participants. Digitally enhanced migration, in the form of social media access for support from friends and acquaintances, google searches to gain knowledge which supported the growth of cultural and economic capital continues to support with rooting in West Yorkshire.

'The phenomenon of digital differentiation, or stark variations in ability to access the Internet hardware and/or infrastructure' is described by Leaton Gray (2021:1) as a form of digital differentiation in ability to use, and have access to, the internet and the quality of digital devices. A form of digital divide is argued by Greco and Floridi (2004) as presenting a potential problem in terms of access for some. Accordingly, whilst digital technology is advantageous to some, providing them with emergent cultural, social and economic capital; shortening and even erasing distance; for others it can create problems. For instance, the decrease in use of cultural centres, Saturday schools and churches has left few physical spaces specifically for Latvians in West Yorkshire, arguably, widening 'generational, geographical, socio-economic and cultural divides' (Greco and Floridi state 2004:75). My younger participants did demonstrate more use of social media, and Art and Regi were able to capitalise significantly through their use of this medium. However, even my older participants now use digital technology and social media to enhance their capital. In Chapter 7, I explored digital technology as emergent cultural capital, and in terms of my case study group I would argue that it is important to consider the widening use of digital technology for migrants to the UK and to employ a reflection on how it can provide emergent capitals. Therefore, Putnam's (2000) *ignoring* of any positive use of digital technology, potential

emergent capitals and how these can enhance communities, is not useful in reflecting the situation of my case study group.

Savage (2021) is important to this argument as he refers to the potential for the accumulation of capital using digital technology. As he states:

The rapid advance of information technology has numerous affordances, but I particularly want to emphasise its capacity to allow the accumulation of cultural references. In the case of social media, for instance, it allows the build-up of contacts that would not be possible through face-to-face, textual, or oral forms. It thus further drives the tendency for the volume of capital to take precedence over the capital composition principle (Savage, 2021:67).

Here Savage is arguing that the ability to gain capital from the use of digital technology outweighs a person's history of accumulated capital. This argument is supported by some of the findings in this case study, for instance, the participants' description of their digitally enhanced capital differed profoundly in terms of their ability to access digital technology and gain capital from when they first arrived in the UK to when the interviews took place. Consequently, there is empirical data gathered in this study which can add to the literature, specifically to Savage's (2021) consideration of technology and increased cultural capital access and accumulation. However, even though digital technology was useful to the participants and described by them as enhancing different aspects of their social, cultural and economic lives, as discussed above, there are still those who benefit more, for instance the IT professionals, Regi and Art. Therefore, digitally enhanced capital can be understood as benefiting some more than others, as tightly linked to economic, social and cultural

capital, not just in the way it can augment these capitals, but also how it can exacerbate or create greater differentiation. Further, as is illustrated in the literature and discussed throughout this thesis, cultural capital can influence 'long-lasting dispositions of mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986:243), which in turn can support access to social groups, building social and economic capital (Savage 2015, Friedman and Laurison 2020). Therefore, although digital technology does influence capital, this influence must be understood within the auspices of cultural, social and economic capital, which are gained from a person's field. Hence, whilst technology provided the possibility for digitally enhanced migration, this, however, depended on the participants' prior capital.

It is clear, however, that those participants aged 36 and over with degrees gained either in the Soviet occupation era of Latvia or in the first decade afterwards, have less cultural capital. This is demonstrable in their lack of confidence compared to those without degrees but a greater command of English language skill and IT ability and access. Those participants who could remember the Soviet occupation or who recalled stories from their parents, described how accumulation of wealth during the Soviet era was not available, and higher education degrees were regarded in a utilitarian manner and professional qualifications were not imbued with the aura of privilege. This is contrary to societies such as the UK where traditionally class has played a major part in access to higher education, reinforcing privilege and therefore HE qualifications are symbolic of privilege. However, of further interest is the argument from the participants (except for Art and Regi) that their qualifications are not respected internationally but that any gained in the UK would be.

This thesis adds to the literature on Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Willis 1977) by demonstrating that it is important to understand how people have arrived at a decision to



migrate as a result of crises. In this study, I showed this through an examination of the intersection of social life and class in terms of capital and habitus vis-à-vis the macro-level and personal crises participants experienced. What was particularly useful about studying Latvian society, and how the participants developed their habitus, was that it had moved from a Soviet command style economy where there was an ideology of non-accumulation of economic capital and an enforced distancing from the certain forms of cultural capital. This really highlighted the importance of accumulated capital in terms of the individual, and indeed the state, in being able to overcome crises within a political field and how crises are experienced within the personal field depending on a person's capital. The participants, whether with Russian or Latvian as a first language, therefore offered experiences and habitus different to those in West Yorkshire. The participants had experienced only slightly differing habitus from each other, this is explained in Chapter 5.4, as being true for both those with Russian and with Latvian as first languages. This provides another dimension to understanding colonialism and represents an addition to the literature. The presence of Russians in Latvia is due to colonialism, yet, compared to Latvians, my participants from colonist families did not have accumulated capital needed to remain in Latvia and overcome the recession. This demonstrates Savage's (2021) point that accumulated capital lies within the hands of an elite few.

This thesis adds to migration literature as from an evaluation of the experiences of the Latvian participants, it is evident that the movement of labour from Latvia to the UK, which has focused on channels of migration and the functionality of networks based on intermediaries, does not provide a true reflection of current Latvian migration. This finding is contrary to McCollum *et al's* (2013) adaptation of Findlay and Garrick's (1989) 'channels of

migration' approach, which considers international recruitment as having different mechanisms and as following distinct structured paths; even though McCollum *et al's* (2013) argument incorporates the idea that migration is temporally and spatially sensitive. Their argument, therefore, in part, moves away from a focus on 'emigration channels' as fixed and as solely organised by employers, agencies and governments. However, the thrust of their focus is still on structured 'channels of migration'. This finding is not reflected in the views of the participants in this case study.

In this section, I have considered the empirical and theoretical contributions of my work. In the next section, I reflect on the methodology.

#### **9.4 Reflections on Methodology**

There were several benefits to choosing a case study approach with two main tranches of interviews. Firstly, a focus on data gathering allowed me to apply Bourdieusian theories of practice; my questions could develop over time, never losing sight of the objective, but being sensitive to, and led by, the findings. I therefore grounded my research in the data that was generated. Using this method meant that definite boundaries could be drawn, for instance, the date that the participants arrived in the UK, their country of origin, their work status and their final place of 'settling', were all features that could define the group. In contrast, there were factors that led away from making other choices. For instance, although ethnographic methods are attractive for getting a 'feel' of the case study group's origin (Becker 1970,1997), and field trips were made to Latvia, this study was not intended to be ethnographic. Amongst the factors that led to the exclusion of ethnographic approaches was that I am not Latvian and could not understand fully Latvian group dynamics.

The methodology included travelling to Latvia, staying there and getting a feel and sense of the country, as well as studying secondary and statistical data on the Latvian field and the way it has changed over time. I found that this methodological roundedness, employing Bourdieu's theory of practice, helped me to understand the process of migration.

Included in the interview process was the discussion of photographs, therefore, a form of photo elicitation was undertaken, where the participants discussed their favourite photographs. The initial idea for this was to provide talking points and to gain visual reflection on their lives in West Yorkshire. However, a notable element of this research is that photo elicitation was somewhat lost in translation, and instead of recent photos of life in West Yorkshire, the participants provided a greater range, including their favourite photos as talking points, for instance, of marriages, environment and family in West Yorkshire and Latvia. This worked well as a tool to create a relaxed interview environment and to engage participants in a conversation about their own lives and capital in a meaningful way to them. In effect of course, this added a greater depth to the interviews, and they became participant-led in certain areas, whilst remaining semi-structured in others, providing a richer quality to the data and new, fascinating dimensions to the research. As is discussed in Chapter 4.6.2, the use of photographs was misinterpreted by one participant, who thought I wanted to discuss meaningful photographs during the first interview. He showed me all his wedding photographs (on his phone) and discussed the event in detail. In reflection, stumbling across this as a method was rewarding, and with ethical reflection could form the basis, if combined with in-depth interviews, of a methodological approach in future.

As is discussed in more depth in Chapter 4, the research approach was mainly designed to gain qualitative data. Other aspects of the research included analysis of secondary data, for instance, peer reviewed material gained in the field of migration research and social theory, and an analysis of statistics on migration provided by the Latvian and UK governments. Data that was gathered from multiple sources provided rich and in-depth qualitative material that I placed into NVivo where I could undertake thematic analysis. This process was ongoing and the reflection it provided allowed me to refocus questions for the second tranche of interviews. Anything that seemed to have been missed or needed more explaining could be included in the second interviews. Further, during the first interviews the open-ended talking themes allowed the participants to push the discussion into areas of experience that were important to them, and remaining within the broader remit of the research, I was able to build on these new directions in the second tranche of interviews. An example of this is the focus on the use of digital technology in the migration and settling of the participants, which was a new area I had not thought of at the beginning of the research, and digitally enhanced migration has been developed as an important concept in this research as a direct response to the empirical data.

I found the use of a multi-method approach in this case study analysis rewarding. It allowed me to use statistics to gain a picture of the actual movement of people, to see if it was significant or remarkable. Using other forms of data, such as research papers, allowed me to reflect on my own findings to understand how they compared.

The most important thing that I have learned about during this research process is to ground research in empirical data and to be responsive to findings as an ongoing element of the process. Secondly, establishing rapport with members of a local migrant group was an

important learning curve, and as part of that process I gained the trust of two gatekeepers. I have also learned that even this seemingly intuitive approach has a form, for instance, although I have made what can be considered as 'reasonable choices' (Bourdieu 1990:09) throughout my research, these are informed by my habitus. I have learned to manage a large scale piece of research, planning every aspect of it. I have honed my statistical analytical skills, as well as my knowledge of qualitative research methods. I am particularly interested in how photo-elicitation could be used with research groups who have English as a second or third language and this was something new to me.

I have learned to have a full appreciation of Bourdieu's theory of practice. I am now able to understand the nuances of his approach that have been missed in the application of his research methods by some other researchers and academics, those approaches that are discussed in the literature review as focusing on one aspect, such as capital and ignoring field, or capital and ignoring habitus. Therefore, I am sceptical of the term 'tool kit' when applied to Bourdieu's approach, as all the tools are necessary, though this is not to say that more cannot be added, debated and analysed. In this research, I developed a form of cultural capital described as 'digitally enhanced migration'; this is not an independent concept, but what I have learned is that none of Bourdieu's concepts are independent and it is his theory of practice that has inspired my thinking. Therefore, it is Bourdieu's philosophical method of thinking and how it can be applied to research that I have learned (and I will forever be learning) from.

The importance of a theoretical framework, reflexivity to empirical data and rigorous analysis is something that Bourdieu (1990,1998) argues for as the basis for sociological research. I would add to that the importance, during the application of the theoretical

framework, of openness to, and awareness of, philosophical means of thinking. This inspired Bourdieu, and should be included in good sociology. This philosophical approach is the core to much of my learning from Bourdieu, who, through his work, has been my teacher throughout this process, I hope I have not allowed my data to slip into explaining 'determining causes' (Bourdieu 1990:10) for my participants' emigration but that I have explained their perceptions of their reasons for migration and how their capital, their habitus, led them to make reasonable choices. That is all I can show, through the empirical data I can demonstrate the reasonable choices that my participants made based on their habitus.

This research is an original contribution because it applies Bourdieu's theory of practice to a specific case study group at a particular point in time and space. It is useful, as the term 'historical legacy', provides a broader understanding of habitus, that understands my participants as informed by field changes over a period of time. 'historical legacy' is provided here as developed in respect of my research participants, however, it would be interesting to understand further the important part field history and change can play. It may not be as important as the habitus that people have based on their current experiences and capital, however, field history provides the primary form of doxa that people experience. The extent of legacy could be an area of future research.

### **9.5 Directions for future research**

Human societies cannot be understood as singularities in time and space. Countries in Eastern Europe, in the perception of my participants, have a comparable experience of colonialism where the historical legacy still affects them. Therefore, participants understand

their capital gained in Latvia as being appreciated differently because it has come from an Eastern European country. Their capital gained in Latvia affects them not just when they are in the Latvian field, but if they move to the UK. Understanding capital as having different values and being substantively different depending on the field in which it is gained, is something that Bourdieu (1998) has reflected on, and there is room to develop this area of research, with the Willis (1977) inspired question: 'Do Eastern Europeans get Eastern European Jobs when they move to the UK?'

A further area for future research is how dramatic shifts in the socioeconomic and political field affect people's ability to accumulate capital, for instance, for those that have gained their habitus from a past colonised country. historical legacy is gained from the doxa a person experiences from their history established in the socioeconomic and political field of their state and from their parents and grandparents as well as their own as a child.

historical legacy is not argued here to replace habitus as a concept. However, if people have not had the same capital influences as others within their current field, (as Bourdieu (1998) demonstrates in his discussion of East Berlin and the GDPR), this is a potential tool to develop to understand the choices they make for emigration.

The concept of social conditioning discussed above is used in this thesis to support the idea that there is an embodiment of history. However, this embodiment is understood as having reflexivity to changes in field and is a distinct property of habitus, as is demonstrated in the discussion above on the participants' use of digital technology. A research question that this observation could generate would be: 'How does digital technology augment cultural capital?' A possibility for more research would be to ask who benefits most from digital

technology, and to establish where control lies, whether it is with those using it or those building it?

Social conditioning is used here in the way that it has been developed by researchers and theorists, (Bourdieu 1980; Bourdieu 1989; Wacquant 1995). The departure and novelty in my research is the focus on migration, plus my research considers the legacy of the recent temporal shift from hugely different fields, political economies within the same spatial arena (Latvian field), and then migration to a further field, (the UK). Therefore, future research questions based on my findings, could be:

1. How can emigration, the physical mobility between cultural fields be compared to class mobility? What about exploring class mobility in terms of reasonable choice (Bourdieu 1990:9), how would that work?
2. What is the importance of history to people today? Therefore, is there a difference between habitus and historical legacy? How can these be differentiated?
3. What part does digital technology play in the formation of habitus? For a study operationalising this, there could be a focus on refugee and asylum seekers changing access to digital technology, or a comparison of age groups.

Interesting areas for consideration opened during the research process, for instance, the participants' use of digital media is a key factor in their ability to sustain and reinforce capital. Future research in how digital technology and networks influences capital accumulation should be a focus of future research in the area of social mobility and would extend Bourdieu's analysis of habitus in new directions.



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## Appendices

# Appendix A

### ELMPS Ethics

### Committee

### SUBMISSION FORM

(Version as of 1 July 2018)

This form is intended to enable you and the Committee to ensure that your proposed research is compliant with the relevant codes of practice and ethical guidelines. The University recognises its obligation to the wider research community and to society as a whole to uphold the integrity of academic research. The University also has a responsibility to ensure that the funds it receives are spent in accordance with the legitimate expectations of the funding providers and the law and in the public interest. The University formally endorses the [UUK Concordat to Support Research Integrity \(2012\)](#).

Please ensure that you are familiar with the University's Code of Practice on Research Integrity and the University Data Management Policy as well as any relevant professional guidelines for your discipline (e.g. the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association) or funding organisation (e.g. ESRC Framework for Research Ethics). Useful links include:

<https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/policies/ethics-code/>  
<https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/policies/research-code/>  
<http://www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc/information/framework-for-research-ethics/>  
<http://www.britisoc.co.uk/about/equality/statement-of-ethical-practice.aspx>  
<http://www.york.ac.uk/about/departments/support-and-admin/information-directorate/information-policy/index/research-data-management-policy/>

Please ensure, **prior to your submission of this form**, that you have consulted the University's guidance on data protection and the General Data Protection Regulation, available at: <http://www.york.ac.uk/recordsmanagement/dp/>

Internet research may involve new and unfamiliar ethics questions and dilemmas. A good place to start is with the Association of Internet Researchers 2002 Guidelines and the BPS 'Conducting Research on the Internet: Guidelines for ethics practice in psychological research online (2007)'.

**Note:** If you are collecting data from NHS patients or staff, or Social Service users or staff, you will need to apply for approval through the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS) at <https://www.myresearchproject.org.uk/Signin.aspx> If you are a staff member please fill in the IRAS form NOT this one. When your IRAS application has been approved you should then send your completed IRAS form to ELMPS. Masters and Undergraduate student applications for approval through IRAS should normally be pre-reviewed by department level ethics committees.

Completed application forms should be submitted by the advertised deadline and **will not be accepted after this date. One signed electronic copy** (including attachments) combined into **ONE pdf file** (email to: [elmps-ethics-group@york.ac.uk](mailto:elmps-ethics-group@york.ac.uk)). We no longer require a signed hard copy. Initial decisions will normally be made and communicated within two weeks of the Committee meeting.

## SECTION 1 ABOUT YOU

1a. Please provide the following details about the principal investigator at YORK

Name of Applicant:	Lyndsey Kramer
e-mail address:	lk892@york.ac.uk
Telephone:	07835302751
Staff/Student Status:	PhD Research Student

Dept/Centre or Unit:	<b>Sociology Department</b>
Head of Department:	<b>Paul Johnson</b>
HoD e-mail address:	paul.johnson@york.ac.uk
Head of Research: (if applicable)	
HoR e-mail address: (if applicable)	
If you are a student please provide details about your supervisor(s)	<p><u>Supervisor(s) Name:</u> Clare Jackson, Richard Tutton and Laurie Hanquinet (Laurie is currently on maternity leave so Clare is supporting in her place).</p> <p><u>e-mail address(es):</u> <a href="mailto:Clare.Jackson@york.ac.uk">Clare.Jackson@york.ac.uk</a>, <a href="mailto:Richard.Tutton@york.ac.uk">Richard.Tutton@york.ac.uk</a> <a href="mailto:laurie.hanquinet@york.ac.uk">laurie.hanquinet@york.ac.uk</a></p>

1b. Any other applicants (for collaborative research projects) Expand as necessary

Name of Applicant:	
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e-mail address:	
Telephone:	
Staff/Student Status:	
Dept/Centre or Unit:	
Head of Department:	
HoD e-mail address:	
Head of Research: (if applicable)	
HoR e-mail address: (if applicable)	

## **SECTION 2 ABOUT THE PROJECT**

### **2.1 Details of Project**

Title of Project:	Migrant Capital and Networking: Case Study of Latvian EU workers moving to North West England.Migrant Capital and Networking
Date of Submission to ELMPS:	
Project Start Date:	October 2019
Duration:	2 years
Funded Yes/No:	No
Funding Source:	None
External Ethics Board Jurisdictions (if any):	

## 2.2 Aims and objectives of the research

Please outline the aims of your project and key research questions. Show briefly how existing research has informed the research proposal and explain what your research adds and how it addresses an area of importance (**N.B. Max 250 words**).



This research analyses the nature of social networks created by Latvian EU workers moving to North West England. It enquires into how and why social networks are formed, and if they aid Latvian embeddedness into the locale. Ryan et al (2015) argue there is a paucity of research in migrant network development. This is because there is the assumption that migrant networks are readily available. This research aims to address this scarcity.

Further, there will be analyses of the intersectionality of class, ethnicity and gender, creating a consideration of their influence on Latvian embeddedness in North West England. Whilst there has been research using Bourdieu's (1986) understanding and application of social, cultural and economic capitals to EU migration, (Favell 2003), it has not focused precisely on the nature of Latvian embeddedness and the intersectionality of class, ethnicity and gender.

Key research questions:

- 1) How do Latvian EU workers and their families use social, cultural and economic capital to create and maintain social networks in North West England?
- 2) What is the nature of the social networks created?
- 3) Do social networks aid embeddedness in the locale?
- 4) How do class, ethnicity and gender influence the formation and nature of Latvian social networks?

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Ryan, L. Erel, U. & D'Angelo, A. [eds] (2015) *Migrant Capital, Networks, Identities and Strategies* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan

### 2.3 Methods of Data Collection

Provide a brief summary of the method(s) of the research making clear what it will involve for participants (e.g. interviews, observation, questionnaires). If you (or your research assistants) are meeting face-to-face with research participants, specify *where* you will be meeting them (and you will need to address how any risks associated with this will be managed in Section 2.10)

There will be three interrelated qualitative methods of data collection: Life-Grid completion, face-to-face semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation/documentation. These are elaborated below:

#### Method 1: Life-Grids.

1. 'Life-Grids' will be adapted from Abbas et al., (2013). They used a grid structure transposed onto a piece of A3 paper to collect qualitative biographical information. Some segments of the grid had headings, e.g. gender, age-range, education milestones, housing, family, friends, significant others. The structure also had some empty squares, which provided the opportunity for the participants to add to it in their own terms. In the current study the Life-Grid will allow for the collection of (partly) comparable data that can be analysed to provide nuanced understanding of biography, social networks and intersectionality. Participants will complete the Life-Grid at the start of the first of three interviews (see below), hence also partly serving as an ice-breaker. I will keep the piece of A3 to bring to each of the two subsequent semi-structured interviews, where they will be reviewed and elaborated.

#### Method 2: Semi-structured interviews

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews. I intend to invite participants to two face-to-face interviews over time. These interviews will be semi-structured to better enable a comparison of data from each interview across participants and time. The semi-structured nature of the interviews will allow for the application of a 'talking frame', which is intended to focus the responses to the field of study.

The interviews are expected to last between one to two hours with each participant and will be conducted at six month intervals from October 2019. The reason for two spaced interviews is that instead of providing a 'snap-shot' at one point in the interviewee's perception there is a more longitudinal quality to the data. Arguably, for an EU Latvian worker, the context of Brexit could have an influence, and this is one reason for the spaced interviews, it allows for circumstances to be considered, for a 'reaction time'.

Sample questions include:

## 2.4 Sampling and Recruitment of participants

How many participants will take part in the research? How will they be identified – describe your *sampling* method? How will they be invited to take part in the study – describe your *recruitment* method? If research participants are to receive any payments, reimbursement of expenses or any other incentives or benefits for taking part in the research please give details, indicating what and how much they will receive and the basis on which this was decided.

The target is to recruit thirty participants. The participants will be identified by one main method which will be snowball sampling. Prior to sampling, a frame for the research will be created. As Robinson (2014:5) argues, it is important to establish a '*sample universe*', or frame; for this study it will be Northern Britain, more specifically West Yorkshire and Latvian EU workers moving under The Freedom of Movement Provision to the UK. It will also include adult family members who are not working. Participants will need to be able to consent and converse in English.

The sample size is based on two factors. Firstly, the number of potential participants meeting the criteria of Latvian EU worker (see below). Secondly, and most importantly, the sample size is based on the theoretical underpinning and subjective idea that qualitative data will provide in-depth, rich data. This qualitative data will be gathered through time-consuming in-depth semi-structured interviews, Life-Grids and photographs, which means the number will have to be limited. Further, the study aims to acquire in-depth data, therefore, the number needed for generalisable arguments will not be sought.

To find a frame for the number of potential participants, I have used secondary, statistical data from National Insurance number applications, obtained from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP 2018). Female applications numbered 1,549 over the period 2004 – 2018 and male applicants numbered 1,765 during this time. This represents, from a total of 3,314, males at 53% of applicants and females at 47% of applicants. This is the potential frame. In reflection, not all of those applying and gaining National Insurance numbers will remain in West Yorkshire. Further, adult partners or children aged under 21 years do not have to work to remain in West Yorkshire.

The total potential sample size is therefore based on an approximate number of 3,314. From this group, 30 participants will be taken via snowball sampling. This sample size

represents. 0.9% of the potential working Latvian population. This is the sample strategy, which will further aim to represent approximately 53% male and 47% female workers.

The sample sourcing will be via snowball sampling. As Atkinson & Flint (2001) argue, in its basic form, this is a matter of identifying participants who will then provide further introductions to others. In the specifics of my research, I have identified members of the Latvian Club in a North West Yorkshire town who could direct me to others. However, I am not relying on this as the only source of potential participants, and I have two 'gatekeepers' who I have identified in North Yorkshire. These two Latvian workers have different social networks from each other and from those at the Latvian Club and I hope to develop my snowball sample using them. Atkinson & Flint (2001:1) further highlight how snowball sampling can allow a researcher not from the group being researched to gain access.

The benefit of this method is to gain access to hard to access groups, it will allow me to be aware of any potentially vulnerable person.

### Bibliography

[Atkinson, R.](#) and Flint, J. (2001) Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies. *[Social Research Update](#)*, 33,

DWP UK Gov (2018) <https://stat-explore.dwp.gov.uk/webapi/jsf/dataCatalogueExplorer.xhtml> The Department for Work and Pensions.

Robinson, OC., (2014) Sampling in Interview-Based Qualitative Research: A Theoretical and Practical Guide, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11:1, 25-41



## 2.5 ‘Vulnerable’ Participants

**Please indicate whether any research participants will be from the following groups; if so, please explain the justification for their inclusion.** In most cases, researchers working with vulnerable people will need to be registered with ISA ([www.isa.homeoffice.gov.uk](http://www.isa.homeoffice.gov.uk)) which has links with the DBS (formerly the CRB). The DBS offers organisations a means to check the background of researchers to ensure that they do not have a history that would make them unsuitable for work involving children and vulnerable adults.

*NB: If you are collecting data from NHS patients or staff, or Social Service users or staff, you will need to apply for approval through the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS).*

Children under 18	None
Those with learning disability	None
Those who are severely ill or have a terminal illness	None
Those in emergency situations	None
Those with mental illness (particularly if detained under Mental Health Legislation)	None
People with dementia	None
Prisoners	None
Young offenders	None
Adults who are unable to consent for themselves	None

<p>Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the investigator or gatekeeper, e.g. those in care homes</p>	<p>None</p>
<p>Other vulnerable groups (please specify) – discuss the issues this raises</p>	<p>As English is the second language of the participants, this will provide some vulnerability. A translator will not be used, as the participants speak English as a second language and use their knowledge of English to enable them to communicate in their daily lives and work spaces. However, extra care will have to be taken to ensure that there is understanding of the nature and use of the research. Confidentiality will have to be explained.</p> <p>It is possible to argue that everyone can be considered vulnerable to a degree, however, the research cohort are all adults who have had the ambition, skill and knowledge to emigrate, to work in a foreign land, often to buy a property or to rent privately.</p>

If yes to any of the above, do you have Disclosure and Barring Service Clearance?

Yes; I have an enhanced DBS which is currently on the 'Update Service'.

Describe the procedures you are using to gain (a) consent and/or (b) proxy consent if applicable.

Each participant will be given a consent form and a project information sheet, (appended with this application), which will detail that their contribution and identity will remain anonymous. Further, the confidential nature of the information they give will be underlined. There will be a detailed description of the use to which the research will be put. The research group will also be given details of the storage procedures for the information gained and they will be aware of who will be able to access the information. They will be made aware that data protection procedures in-line with the 2018 Data Protection Act will be followed.

In gaining consent, the understanding and welfare of the participants is of primary importance. The participants will be informed that they can refuse to answer questions and they can leave the study up to two weeks from the date of interview. If they have any concerns, the participants will be able to contact my supervisors, Dr. Clare Jackson, Dr. Laurie Hanquinet and Dr. Richard Tutton, the participants will have the emails of all. Data will be stored up to three months after successful completion of the PhD Viva.

I will ensure that the consent form has been read by all of the participants and that they do not sign the form immediately but take it away and consider participation. There will also be an information sheet. Both the consent form and the information sheet have my supervisors' phone and email if they wish to discuss anything. I will discuss participation with each potential participant, before they sign the form, to ensure that they are aware of the nature of the research. The cultural heritage of the participants will differ to my own, and for this reason I have 'native' speakers to translate the consent forms and to discuss the content with me.

## **2.6. 'Sensitive' topics**

During your study, will anyone discuss sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use) or issues likely to disclose information requiring further action (e.g. criminal activity)? If so, please give details of the procedures in place to deal with these issues, including any support/advice (e.g. helpline numbers) to be offered to participants.

Consider, too, the risks this may pose to the researcher. Note that where applicable, consent procedures should make it clear that if something potentially or actually illegal is discovered in the course of a project, it may need to be disclosed to the proper authorities.

There will be no planned discussion of embarrassing or upsetting topics. However, the nature of qualitative interviews means that the participant might raise a sensitive issue in discussion. If a participant becomes upset I will stop the interview immediately and turn-off any recording device. I sign-post for further support, and in the interim provide an information sheet with local support group information. This sheet has been supplied.

The area of research is how people create support networks in a new country. This might lead to reflection of the move to West Yorkshire from the respondents' home countries, this might lead to some level of home sickness. On the support sheet there are a number of contact numbers, including the number of the local Latvian Club who provide a reflective 'Latvian' type environment.

The consent procedures will make it clear that if there is a safeguarding issue, anything potentially or actually illegal is discovered, it will be reported to the proper authorities.

## 2.7 Covert research

If the research involves covert data gathering or deception of any kind, please explain and justify the deception. Specify what procedures (if any) will be used to debrief participants after the data have been collected.

There will be no covert research.

## 2.8 Informed Consent

Please attach (1) the privacy notice/project information sheet to be given to all participants and (2) the informed consent form. In line with the University's Code of Practice on Research Integrity, participants and/or their representatives should be provided with details of a first point of contact through which any concerns can be raised: this should be your Head of Department (or if you *are* a Head then the Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Research).

i. If you are not seeking informed consent

It is usually the case that informed consent is required for research with human participants. If you do NOT intend to seek informed consent please explain carefully why you believe this is not necessary for your project. You should explain this with reference to the research ethics guidelines for your discipline and cite other recent published research using your methodological approach or ethics discussions about this to support your case.

I do intend to seek informed consent. I have created an 'informed consent form'.

ii. Please confirm you have included the privacy notice/project information sheet to be given to all participants with your submission to ELMPS. If these have not been attached, please explain why this is the case.

I have attached the project information sheet to be given to all participants.

iii. Please confirm you have included all the relevant informed consent forms. If these have not been attached, please explain why this is the case.

iv. Are the results to be given as feedback or disseminated to your participants (if yes please specify when, in what form, and by what means). If no, why not?

Yes, the findings will be given as feedback during face-to-face follow up meetings, where the progress of the research will be discussed. There will also be a written summary of findings for each participant.

## 2.9 Anonymity

In most instances the Committee expects that anonymity will be offered to research participants. Please set out how you intend to ensure anonymity. If anonymity is not being offered please explain why this is the case. Note that if anonymity is not offered (or cannot be guaranteed) this has implications you must address in Section 3 below. Note: if you are using a transcriber or translator you must have a signed confidentiality agreement with them.

Original data, therefore any audio recordings, original transcripts of text based dialogue, photographs and Life-Grids will be stored securely on the University of York fire walled computer system. No data will be stored on any home or personal computer, the remote university desktop will be used and data stored on the my private, password protected account in Google Drive, which is the University of York preferred storage service.

At the beginning of any interview, the participant will be nominated an agreed pseudonym. All other identifying factors, such as contact details, will be locked in a cabinet in my office in Wentworth College, once the PhD is completed they will be destroyed. The participants' names will appear on the consent forms, which will be securely stored in a locked cabinet in my office in Wentworth College, University of York.

All interviews will be carried out in English, so there will not be a need for a translator.

## 2.10 Anticipated Risks or Ethical Problems

Please outline any anticipated risks or ethical problems that may adversely affect any of the participants, the researchers and/or the university, and the steps that will be taken to address them. (Note: all research involving human participants can have adverse effects.) Please also refer to the **University's Health, Safety and Welfare Policy Statement and associated Management Procedures**, as well as to any ethical guidelines you have consulted. **Where relevant, risk assessments should be carried out not only in relation to the researchers themselves, but also for those participating in the project or affected by its conduct, and in relation to any impact on the environment. Researchers should ensure that appropriate insurance is in place, liaising with the University's Insurance Officer as necessary (via standard departmental procedures where these exist).**

- i. Risks to participants (e.g. emotional distress, financial disclosure, physical harm, transfer of personal data, sensitive organisational information...)



During the research process there should be no risk of physical harm. The interviews will take place in the community centre, which is a neutral, safe and welcoming environment. The community centre is at the heart of the estate and open to all. I am familiar with its provision and location having spent time there. The data collected should not be of a sensitive nature.

The participants will be notified on the consent form that any safeguarding or illegal issues raised will be forwarded to the relevant authority. In the event that the participants begin to disclose such information they will be reminded.

There will be no transfer of personal data, such as specific age, date of birth, address or name. I will know where the respondents live but it will not be necessary to record this. The name of the estate will also be kept anonymous, with the locale given as: 'An estate in '. The gender of the participant, their rough age and nationality only will be saved. A pseudonym will be used immediately on the interview data gained. To ensure anonymity, I will not insert any identifiable information of participants in any part of the thesis or publications that might follow.

- ii. Risks to researchers (e.g. personal safety, physical harm, emotional distress, risk of accusation of harm/impropriety, conflict of interest...)

I moved to the estate in October 2018. It was my intention to study m from the Baltic States to West Yorkshire, and I wanted to live in West Yorkshire to make field work straightforward. It is a fortuitous co-incidence that the estate on which I found a house to rent also has a number of residents.

In the past I have completed 'remote worker' training and I am therefore aware of the need to ensure that someone, such as my partner, colleague or supervisor is aware of the location and time of my meetings and the time that I am due back. The meetings will be arranged for a community centre which is a public space.

iii. University/institutional risks (e.g. adverse publicity, financial loss, data protection...)

Care has been taken to conduct the research in the neutral environment of the community centre on the estate. The subject under research is arguably innocuous, there will be no openings for participants to share sensitive material, however this could happen, therefore the participants will be made aware that any illegal activity or safeguarding issue will be forwarded to the proper authority.

It is not foreseen that there will be any opportunity for adverse publicity or financial loss. Data will be protected and only I will have access to the transcribed recordings of the interviews which will be securely stored in strict accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018. They will not be used for any other purpose. I have had training in the storage and use of data in other employment, I have studied both the Caldicott Principles and the 2018 Data Protection Act and I understand my own obligation under both.

iv. Financial conflicts of interest (e.g. perceived or actual with respect to direct payments, research funding, indirect sponsorship, board or organisational memberships, past associations, future potential benefits, other...)

None

## 2.11 Research outside the UK

If you are planning research overseas, you should also take account of the ethical standards and processes of the country/countries in question as well as those of the University. If the research is being conducted outside the UK please specify any local guidelines (e.g. from local professional associations/learned societies/universities) that exist and whether these involve any ethical stipulations beyond those usual in the UK. Also specify whether there are any specific ethical issues raised by the local context in which you are conducting research, for example, particular cultural sensitivities or vulnerabilities of participants.

None

## SECTION 3: DATA PROTECTION

*Please ensure you have read the information on data protection at:*

<https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/dp/> before you complete this section

3.1 Does your project involve personal data (as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation): No. If yes, please provide a description of the data and explain why you need to collect this data.

I will not be keeping the participants' names. Immediately on agreeing to participate they will be given a pseudonym. Contact details will be stored with pseudonyms. They will be securely stored in a locked cabinet in my office in Wentworth College. They will be stored on my personal, password-protected Google Drive account.

3.2 Does it involve special category personal data (as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation): Yes/No. If yes please provide a description of the data:

**Yes** it does not involve special category personal data (as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation). The data will contain nationality which could be linked to ethnicity.

3.3. If the research will involve any of the following activities please indicate so and provide further details. Explain how this will be conducted in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation and the Data Protection Act (and/or any international equivalent)

Electronic transfer of data in any form	The meetings will be recorded, transcribed and kept, along with photographic evidence in a password protected, encrypted portable, disk-drive that will be safely kept in my office in a locked cabinet in Wentworth College, University of York. When they are typed they will be encrypted. No information of a personal or sensitive nature will be taken or stored. All participants will be given a pseudonym. Data will only be stored on the university computers. All data will also be saved on my private, password protected account in Google Drive, which is the University of York preferred storage service.
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Sharing of data with others at University of York	The data will only be seen by me and my supervisor. The data will be anonymised before my supervisor sees it.
Sharing of data with other organisations	The data will form the basis of a PhD thesis and future academic papers. There will be no identifiers in the data as it will be anonymised.
Export of data outside the European Union or importing of data from outside the UK	None
Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, emails or telephone numbers	None
Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals	None
Use of audio/visual recording devices	The interviews will be recorded and the recording wiped immediately after the interview is transcribed.  All data will also be saved on my private, password protected Google Drive account which is the University of York preferred storage service.
Use of data management system (e.g. Nvivo, ATLAS.ti)	

Data archiving	Data will not need to be archived, however, it will be securely saved on an encrypted university computer with password protection. The data will be destroyed after three years.
----------------	---

3.4. If the research will involve storing personal data on any one of the following please indicate so and provide further details.

Manual files (i.e. in paper form)	There will be no identifying data. No sensitive data will be sought, however, some sensitive data might be divulged. In the first instance notes of the interviews will be handwritten, these will be locked in a filing cabinet in Wentworth College, I will be the only person with a key. The cabinet is in a locked office. However these manual files will be anonymised and destroyed as soon as they are put onto my private, password protected Google Drive account which is the University of York preferred storage service.	
University computers	I am using BitLocker as recommended by the IT services at the University of York to encrypt the data. The data will be stored private, password protected Google Drive account which is the University of York preferred storage service.	Password protected Yes Encrypted Yes
Private company computers	Not used	Password protected Y/N Encrypted Y/N

Home or other personal computers	Not used	Password protected Y/N Encrypted Y/N
Laptop computers/ CDs/ Portable disk-drives/ memory sticks	Not used	Password protected Y/N Encrypted Y/N
Websites	Not used	Password protected Encrypted Y/N
Other	None	Password protected Y/N Encrypted Y/N

**3.5 Please explain the measures in place to ensure data confidentiality, including details of encryption and anonymisation.**

I am using BitLocker as recommended by the IT services at the University of York. This will ensure that the data is encrypted. Before encryption all data is anonymised which means that the name, address, exact date of birth or any other identifying factor is not available. Only the gender, ethnicity, 'class' and rough age of the person will be used in the process of evaluation of the data to establish whether statuses are represented. Data will also be saved on my private, password protected Google Drive account which is the University of York preferred storage service. All written transcripts, recording of interviews and notes will be kept in the locked cabinet in my office, located in Wentworth College.

**3.6 Please detail all who will have access to the data generated by the study.**

My supervisor and I will have access to the data which will be anonymised.

**3.7 Please detail who will have control of, and act as custodian(s) for, data generated by the study.**

I will have control of the data and act as custodian.

**3.8 Please give details of data storage arrangements, including where data will be stored, how long for, and in what form. Will data be archived – if so how and if not why not. Note the university policy that** “Where possible, relevant elements of research data must be deposited in an appropriate national or international subject-based repository, according to their policies. Data should be kept by the researcher in an appropriate manner when suitable subject repositories are not available.”

<http://www.york.ac.uk/about/departments/support-and-admin/information-directorate/information-policy/index/research-data-management-policy/#tab-1>

Destruction and disposal of any personal data will be carried out in compliance with the University of York Records Management and Information Governance General Guidelines. After 3 months from successful completion of the PhD Viva, all research data will be destroyed. During the 3 months, all data will be saved on my encrypted portable disk-drive with password protection. If there is no successful completion of the PhD Viva the data will be destroyed within 3 months of unsuccessful completion.

All data (physical notes, transcriptions, audio recordings) will be stored and saved in my personal, password protected Google Drive account, password protected portable disk-drive and locked cabinet in my office. These safety measures will guarantee that the data will not be accessible and cannot be copied by third parties. In doing so, I will ensure confidentiality. I will anonymise all data before printing. The raw (audio recording) data will be destroyed after transcription.

### **3.9. Minimising data collection to what is necessary**

A key principle contained in the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is that the data collected must be **limited to what is necessary** to fulfil the purpose for which they are processed.



**Are you capturing the minimum amount of personal data/special category data necessary for your research project?** If yes, please provide an indication of why this is the minimum amount of personal data/special category data required.

I am collecting qualitative data which will be gathered via talking themes from in depth interviews. It is intended that the data will be highly valid to the situation of the participant and directed towards their interpretation of networking and building relationships as a migrant to the UK. No unnecessary information will be sought, statuses that are pertinent to this project are: ethnicity, class and gender.

### 3.10. Data Protection Impact Assessment (DPIA) Screening Questions

A DPIAs should be undertaken for data processing likely to be high risk under the GDPR. The Regulation does not define ‘high risk’ but the Information Commissioner’s Office has produced a checklist for determining when assessments should be undertaken. This is available on the ELMPS website [DIPA Screening Questions \(MS Word , 15kb\)](#).

**Please consult the University of York’s guidance on DPIAs prior to completing the declaration below. This is available at: <https://www.york.ac.uk/records-management/dp/dataprivacyimpactassessments/>**

It is your responsibility to ensure that a DPIA is undertaken if it is required for your research project. Please tick the appropriate statement below:

Declaration	Agreement
1. I have completed the DPIA screening questionnaire and consider that a DPIA <b>is not required</b> as the data collected is not ‘high risk.’	/

<p>2. I have completed the DPIA screening questionnaire and consider that a DPIA <b><u>is required</u></b> as the data collected is likely to be ‘high risk.’ I have submitted the completed assessment to the University of York’s Data Protection Officer for review and <b><u>am awaiting a decision on approval.</u></b></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<p>3. I have completed the DPIA screening questionnaire and consider that a DPIA <b><u>is required</u></b> as the data collected is likely to be ‘high risk.’ The completed assessment is attached to this application and <b><u>has been approved</u></b> by the University of York’s Data Protection Officer.</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### SECTION 4 SIGNED UNDERTAKING

In submitting this application I hereby confirm that I undertake to ensure that the above named research project will meet the University’s Code of Practice on Research Integrity <https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/policies/research-code/>.

..... (Signed Lead Researcher/Principal Investigator)

..... (Date)

..... (Signed Supervisor (where relevant))

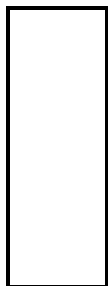
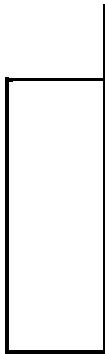
I confirm I have read and approved this application

*(Electronic signature required)*

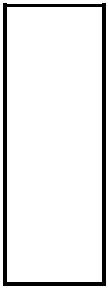
..... (Date)

### Submission Checklist for Applicants

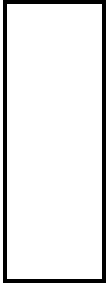
**One signed electronic copy** (including attachments) in **one pdf file** to: [elmeps-ethics-group@york.ac.uk](mailto:elmeps-ethics-group@york.ac.uk)



ELMPS Application form



Consent form for participants



Privacy notice/participant information sheet

ELMPS Compliance form

# Appendix B

When did you arrive in the UK?	Age-range		Qualifications
	17-25		
	26-36		
	37-47		
	48-58		
	68-87		

	Gender		2007 recession
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# Appendix C

## Remote Worker Safeguarding Frame

The check-in procedure had the following formula:

1. The interview time and location were logged in my calendar.
2. My partner was informed one week before the meeting took place. He was notified of the time and place of interview. I repeated these plans with any changes to my partner at the beginning of the week. On the evening preceding the interview and on the day of the interview I repeated my plans to my partner. I informed my partner via text when I left for the interview, when I arrived, when I left and when I arrived home.





Project Consent Form:

Project Title: Migrant Capital and Networking: Case Study of Latvian EU workers moving to West Yorkshire.

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate it is important for you to understand why this research is taking place and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Researcher: Lyndsey Kramer Department of Sociology, University of York.  
lyndsey.kramer@york.ac.uk

The person to contact if you have any concerns: Dr. Richard Tutton  
richard.tutton@york.ac.uk

You will be given two forms to sign. This form is the project consent form. This form is for you to sign if you agree to take-part in the project. The other form is the project information sheet, that sheet tells you more about the project and why it is taking place.

What do you have to do?

You have been chosen to take-part in some interviews. You will also be asked if you would like to take some photographs of 'your world', things that inspire you in your daily life. We will be talking about the photographs. We will also be using a grid which we can fill-in which will reflect you, things like your gender.

Do you have to take part?

No, you do not have to take part, it is completely up to you. This information sheet will help you to decide whether you want to take part and you will be able to ask any questions you may have. If you decide to participate, you can still leave the study at any time without giving a reason up to two weeks after any of the interviews.

When the interviews take-place, I will ask you if you would prefer for me to record the interview or to take notes. I would like to make sure that I get all the information that you want to give and that I do not miss or forget anything.

I am okay for a voice recorder to be used in my interview.

I do not want a voice recorder to be used in my interview.

I am okay for notes to be taken in my interview.

I do not want notes to be taken in my interview.

This information will only be listened to by me, Lyndsey Kramer, if a voice recorder is used.

The information you give will remain anonymous. This means that your name or anything that could link you to this research, for instance: your address or your exact age, will be not be used. The information you give is therefore confidential.

I understand that my name, address and my exact age will not be written about or pass-on to anyone. Please tick if you understand or if you do not understand.

I understand

I do not understand

If you would like to discuss anonymity and confidentiality with me, please tick the box below:

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take-part because you have moved to Northern England from Latvia

What will happen to the information that I give?

Only I [Lyndsey Kramer] will have access to the recorded interviews and the transcribed (typed-up) recordings of the interviews which will be securely stored in strict accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018. This means that your interview will be typed-up onto the University of York computer and stored on the secure Google drive that the University of York uses. The interview recording will be typed-up and the interview will not contain your name or address, or any information that could identify you.

The information that you give me will only be used for my PhD research project (thesis) and for associated publications. That means that the information could be published in an academic journal. Any personal information is completely confidential, anything that may be used to identify you will be changed, that is made anonymous; your participation is completely confidential.

Who has reviewed this study? (Okayed it)

The study has been reviewed by the University of York Ethics Committee. They are also known as the 'ELMPS' committee. They check to make sure that the ethical guidelines from the University of York are being considered. Further, your information and any data you give must be shown to be arranged to be treated within accordance with the 2018 Data Protection Act.

Contact Information

If you would like further information about the research, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me: [lyndsey.kramer@york.ac.uk](mailto:lyndsey.kramer@york.ac.uk)

Consent

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to think about the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.
3. I agree to take part in this study.

Name of participant	Date	Signature
Name of researcher	Date	Signature

Project Information Sheet:

Project Title: Migrant Capital and Networking: Case Study of Latvian EU workers moving to West Yorkshire

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate it is important for you to understand why this research is taking place and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. You will be given an opportunity to ask questions. If you decide to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form.

Researcher: Lyndsey Kramer Department of Sociology, University of York.  
lyndsey.kramer@york.ac.uk

My supervisors are Dr. Laurie Hanquinet, laurie.hanquinet@york.ac.uk; Dr. Clare Jackson clare.jackson@york.ac.uk and; Dr. Richard Tutton richard.tutton@york.ac.uk Please contact them if you have concerns.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study forms an essential part of my PhD Sociology Research at The University of York. The information gathered will be used to help me to gain an awareness of how people from Latvia settle when they move to Northern England. By taking part you will be providing information to enable an understanding of what it is like to move to Northern England for Latvians.

There has been research completed on certain groups moving within the EU and why they move, but little specifically on Latvian people's reasons for migration. Much research assumes that people from Latvia will find it easy to settle in England because there are Latvian societies already in England. I want to find out if this is actually true. This research is also important because it will provide an understanding of why Latvian people move to Northern England and if there are any obstacles or barriers that make it harder for them.

I am going to be gathering information from 30 Latvians who have come to Northern England to live and work.

Do you have to take part?

No, you do not have to take part, it is completely up to you. This information sheet will help you to decide whether you want to take part and you will be able to ask any questions you may have. If you decide to participate, you can still leave the study, without giving a reason, up to two weeks after any of the interviews.

What do you have to do?

You will be asked to take part in two face-to-face interviews. You will also be asked if you would like to take some photographs of 'your world', things that inspire you in your daily life. We will be talking about the photographs in your second interview. We will also be using a grid which we can fill-in together. This will ask you to reflect on things like your work experience and social networks.

Interviews will be held in your local community centre and each interview should last between one and two hours. The two interviews will be six months apart. The reason for two interviews is that instead of providing a 'snap-shot' or one-off idea of your views, the information will be a more thorough reflection of your thoughts and experiences.

Example questions are:

- 1) Before arriving in the UK, did you know anyone here?
- 2) Have you made new friends?
- 3) How would you describe your friends?
- 4) If you have made new friends, or met old ones, how have they helped you settle-in?

The information you give will remain anonymous. This means that your name or anything that could link you to this research, for instance: your address or your exact age, will not be used. The information you give is therefore confidential.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take-part because you have moved to West Yorkshire from Latvia.

What will happen to the information that I give?

It will only be used for my PhD and for associated academic articles or books. What is important is that the information is anonymised, so your details will remain confidential. Only I [Lyndsey Kramer] will have access to the recorded interviews and the transcribed (typed-up) recordings of the interviews which will be securely stored in strict accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018. This means that your interviews will be typed-up onto the University of York computer and stored on the secure Google drive that the University of York uses. The interview recording will be typed-up and will not contain your name or address, or any information that could identify you. As part of the second interview I will ask you to take photographs with your mobile of places that are meaningful to you, so we can discuss them. These photographs will be stored on the secure university Google drive, which is password protected. We will also be using information grids which I will show you, on these you can tick the things that are applicable to you. These grids will be given to you to keep and I will take a photograph of the grid that I will store safely on the University of York's password protected Google drive.

Within three months of the successful completion of my PhD Viva, I will destroy the notes taken and the recordings you have given. These will have been transposed and typed-up into the PhD thesis with full anonymity.

Who has reviewed this study? (Okayed it)

The study has been reviewed by the University of York Ethics Committee. This is called: The 'ELMPS' process. They go through my reasons for research thoroughly and make sure that I am following the guidelines and processes to keep your information secure and confidential. They reflect on your safety and my safety to ensure that we all remain within any safety guidelines.

Contact Information

If you would like further information about the research, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me: [lyndsey.kramer@york.ac.uk](mailto:lyndsey.kramer@york.ac.uk)

Confirmation that you understand this information sheet.

1. I confirm that I have read and understood this information sheet. I have had the opportunity to think about the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of researcher

Date

Signature







